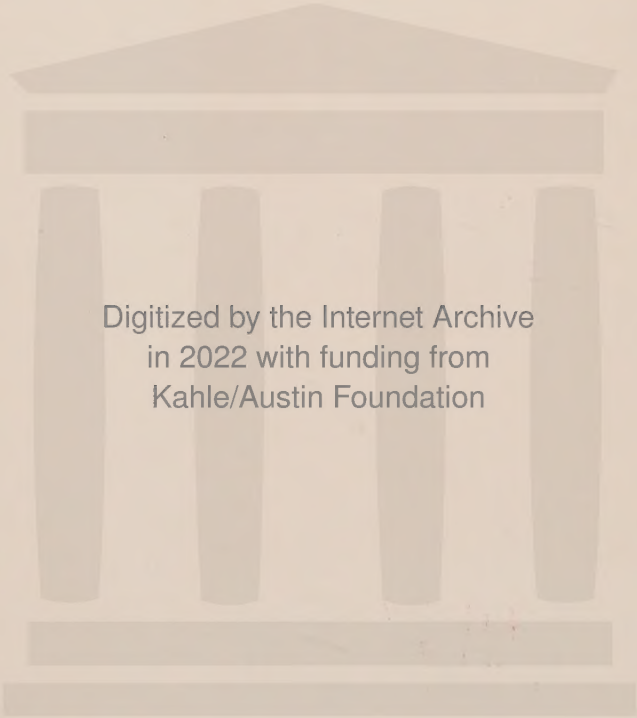
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THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE FINNS

BY

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THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE FINNS



To

MY MOTHER

whose love and labors have been indispensable in the writer's past life,

this volume is

LOVINGLY DEDICATED

PREFACE.

The following chapters were written in the belief that there is a need for interpretation of the character and the life of the Finnish people in America. An attempt has been made here to see the facts from the inside with the eyes of one who can say that "even I was there".

The main part was originally written as a thesis in a course in Sociology at the University of Michigan. This was kept as a nucleus around which I have gathered additional material and added further chapters. Prof. C. H. Cooley, in whose course the thesis was presented, commented on it with the following words:

"You have written nothing less than a treatise on the American Finns. It seems to me careful and sympathetic, and has an element of originality due to the extent of your personal knowledge".

Much more could have been written and, perhaps, would have been desirable to an interested reader, but the writing of such a work would take more time than we had at our disposal, and, further, there was no evidence that such a work would be received in a way that would assure the necessary

expense of the publication of a more comprehensive book at this time.

I have given considerable publicity to the thoughts of the writers who have entered into the study of this question in a sympathetic and intelligent way. It is to be hoped that others will follow them in a similar undertaking.

My thanks are due to the Rev. H. D. Whitteker, A. B., B. D., and to Miss Alma Burman, A. B., my colleagues on the faculty of Suomi College, who kindly read and criticised all of the manuscript.

May this volume furnish such stimulus to those who come in contact with the immigrants, and particularly the Finns, as will be helpful in more intelligently understanding them and helping them to become better Americans.

THE AUTHOR.

Suomi College, Hancock, Mich.
December, 1923.

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THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE FINNS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. -- MEANING OF AMERICANIZATION DISCUSSED.

In undertaking a study of the Americanization of a race we are naturally confronted with the question: What is Americanization? How can it be accomplished, and what are its standards of judgment?

The question of Americanization is a live question. Over a million immigrants came to make their home among us each year before the World War. The percentage of foreign born has been steadily gaining in our midst. It has been estimated that about 30,000,000 immigrants have landed on our shores since 1820. We can not imagine the size of this vast army, but in the way of comparison we may say that never in the history of the world has such a number of people moved out of any country, or to any country during the same length of time. And not only is this true, but a further fact in connection with this problem is, that the immigrant classes increase much more rapidly than the native stock. A

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question naturally arises: how are we going to deal with this large class of polyglot and heterogeneous material so that we can retain our national characteristics and democratic ideals? In other words, how can we make them an organic part of our life so that a spirit of unity and good-will will reign among us? These questions are of vital interest to all Americans and on their happy solution depends, to a great extent, the future of America and its democratic institutions. It is our purpose to study this problem and thus aid in the proper understanding of it as far as it concerns the Finns. In order to do this it will be necessary to study Finnish immigration and the life of the Finns in America at some length. This is also desirable for the reason that the Finnish immigration question has received very little notice in a more definite way from American authors.

The problem of immigration has been discussed by a host of writers within the last few years. Americanism has been defined and new programs for carrying on this work have been suggested. From the American point of view we must agree that we have not been able to get such results in our work of educating the foreign born among us as would be desirable. The foreigners seem to cling to their traditions, language, and loyalty to their native countries with a determined obstinacy. Many

have the notion that they should always love and respect their native country first of all. This of course, is wrong. If they are going to live in America, America must come first; otherwise they might as well move out of America as soon as possible. But from the side of the immigrants, it must be said that they have been generally misunderstood and misrepresented. It is so easy to exaggerate the meaning of the police reports and other spectacular things published about immigrants. Very few take it upon themselves to try to study the life of the immigrant more thoroughly so that such sensational things could be understood in their real light.

We are to state at the start that the Finns have often been represented in a very one-sided and biased way. When, for example, the Copper Country Strike took place a few years ago, in which Finns played a prominent part because of the large number employed in the mines there, a certain writer published an article in The Outlook in which he interpreted Finnish Americans and their activities in a false light. He stated that the labor temple, said to be found in every Finnish community, served the purpose of a club, church, and general social institution. But he said nothing of their churches, schools and other institutions which have no connection with the labor temple. He had not troubled himself with getting real facts concerning their

educational, religious and political life. This is only one illustration, but it is an exmaple of many other similar cases.

In undertaking to speak about Americanization, the question suggests itself to us as not being concerned with the naturalization and Americanization of the foreigner only, but just as much with the Americanization of the native born among us. Are we always treating the immigrant justly? Are we trying to gain his goodwill? Are we setting a worthy example of Americanism through obedience to law, fair play and social righteousness? If not, we are then breeding sham, conceit, and superficiality in the minds of our newcomers. We can not expect ideal Americanism in the lives of the immigrants if we ourselves have set them a poor example.

But what does Americanism mean? The best definition of Americanism, in our judgment, was given by Abraham Lincoln in that short classic, known as the Gettysburg Address. It is there defined as meaning: "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people". These words of our martyred president should be applied not only to the state, but to the institutions of our country as well. Applied to the home, it would mean equality of husband and wife, and the right of every American child to receive education and training for his future life as a citizen of the state. It would

mean in the church the voice of the laity in matters of church polity and discipline together with that of the clergy. In industry it would mean co-operation of the employer with the employee for the benefit of both. And that would further mean that even the immigrant among us would have the right to self-expression, appreciation of his personality by others, and a sense of security against poverty, sickness and old age.

Theodore Roosevelt, that typical American whom we all respected, whether we liked him or not, defines Americanism in his characteristic, popular way. "We are a new and distinct nationality. Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These are: that each man be treated on his worth as a man without regard to the land from which his forefathers came, and without regard to the creed which he professes". He goes on to say further that it is of the utmost importance to secure for every man the right to hold and to express the religious views that best meet his own soul's needs. And any political move directed against a body of our fellow-citizens because of their religious creed, is a grave offence against American principles and American institutions. Americanism, according to his interpretation, is more a thing of the spirit and the soul, than of external modes and habits of life. And in order to show that this was not forgetting

America, he adds, "But their allegiance must be purely in the United States; there is no room for hyphenated Americanism".[1])

In a loose sense Americanism is taken by some to mean the process of changing the immigrant into an American. Generally it is taken for granted that the immigrant stands on a lower plane mentally, morally and spiritually than the native American,— this assumption being based on his inability to speak our language and to follow our customs. The danger in such a narrow view of Americanism can be readily seen. If we interpret Americanism to the newcomer in such a shallow way, it is no wonder that the immigrant gains an impression that we are superficial and that our chief interest is in the material values in life. A better impression could be made on him by showing that we love civil and social and industrial righteousness. This phase of the question of Americanism must be given careful consideration in working out programs on Americanization work.

Others, again, think that Americanization is primarily concerned with the assimilation by the foreign born among us of our customs of dress, speech, and habits of life. This we take to be the most popular view of Americanization. It is true,

1) Immigration and Americanism. Davis, p. 645.

for good or for ill, that we have no racial unity. We are the most heterogeneous nation in the world. On the surface it would appear as if this were a source of great weakness. We may assert at once that we believe in the natural assimilation of the immigrants in our midst with the Americans. But history has proved that an assimilation between two races has generally been one of mutual exchange of characteristics and ideals, and the process is rather slow.

By assimilation we mean both a process of individual training, and blending of civilizations. If the latter, it is a question whether an assimilation in an absolute sense would always be justifiable. The process is psychic or spiritual, and depends largely on personal training as well as on social conditions. In the case of the Finn there do not exist very radical differences between the social environment and the cultural status of the old country and those of America. For this reason his assimilation takes place within a reasonable length of time; but he would resent the imposing of any customs or habits the meaning of which had not been explained to him. In our opinion, wise persuasion and education hasten the assimilation of the immigrant into American life, but compulsion and legislation in this respect create a feeling for violating the democratic principles of our country.

The term amalgamation is often used synonymously with assimilation. Amalgamation, however, is a process of blending of races. It means that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock. It is therefore biological in distinction from assimilation, which is psychical. Amalgamation is a work of centuries. The American race has not been born yet. No one can say positively what it will look like, or what characteristics will belong to it. But it is our duty as Americans of the present generation to help it to a noble and ideal birth.

There are great differences between the moral customs of the races coming to us and our own, and it is not proper to expect that we should assimilate all these new ideals into our life. The guiding principle here should be to adopt those traits from our immigrants that have moral, or spiritual, or educational, or political value. It can be said without equivocation that American life has been enriched by the ideals and contributions of foreign life. Our poetry has been influenced by European works. In this connection we might point out that Longfellow received the inspiration for his "Hiawatha" from the Finnish national epic, "Kalevala". He not only adopted the simple meter which he found in the "Kalevala" but there are other marked resemblances in his work. In stating this, we do no injustice to the memory of Longfellow, for he him-

self acknowledged his indebtedness to the "Kalevala". We may further suggest that our art, education, inventions, and science owe a great deal of their accomplishments to foreign contributions in our midst. We wonder whether this aspect of our immigration problem presents itself to our consciousness with sufficient force. In a book, entitled, "Old World Traits Transplanted", by Park-Miller, this phase of the immigration question is presented in a very interesting way.

In this connection it may be proper to point out that the arrival of an immigrant to our shores need not be looked upon as a liability but rather as an asset to American life as a whole. The potential value of an immigrant has been estimated to be at least one thousand dollars per person.[1]) The immigrant has dug our canals, built our railroads through uninhabited regions, he has mined our ores and coal, dug our sewers, and built our tunnels and subways at the risk of his life for a comparatively small remuneration. And in doing this he has often met with untimely death. Who is able to estimate the number of lives that have been sacrificed to make possible the many conveniences of our modern life? The immigrant has certainly paid dearly for his right to live in America. We are tempted to say

1) O. H. Kilpi, The Immigration and Economy of Finland in the 19th Century, Finnish; and other authorities.

that it has been a struggle for existence, and that only the fittest have survived.

In delivering the memorial address in memory of Abraham Lincoln in the Congress of the United States, George Bancroft expressed our indebtedness to other nations in a very fitting way. He said that in forming our democratic system of government we searched through the storehouse of political wisdom; we washed the grains of gold from the sands of empires that had once been; we dug treasures of political lore from the rocks of past dynasties. We took from them what had proved to be lasting, and discarded that which had proved to be a weakness. Thus we built an ideal form of government. We have benefited in the past from foreign nations, and I do not think, if we steer our Ship of State wisely, that America is going to fall into an arrogance of self-sufficiency even in the future. American life is a part of the civilization of the world. We need to learn from other nations; and perhaps they need to learn still more from us.

As we said of the American race, so we must also say of Americanism, that it is in the process of becoming, and through a wise policy towards the immigrants among us we can still prove to the world this to be true. We cannot point to our present life as a model of perfection and attainment of American ideals. We must, however, be able to see these very

principles and ideals, which we have tried to point out in the foregoing paragraphs, present and underlying in our national life and existence. "As Americans if we could but grasp the elementary fact that Americanism is always partial and incomplete, an ideal to be sought but never fully to be attained, because always in its perfection just beyond our reach, how much better Americans might we ourselves become, and how far more potent missionaries of the gospel of Americanism would we be. If our newcomers, too, could but realize that Americanism ever is to be, and that they are helping in its making, their enthusiasm would be strengthened, not shattered, and their power to contribute extended."[1])

We shall now turn more directly to the study of the problem before us. Let us, therefore, consider this question under the following divisions: Historical Background of the Finnish Race; Causes of Immigration from Finland; Finnish Immigration to America; Distribution and Occupations of the Finns; Cultural Life of the Finns: a) School, b) Press, c) Church, and d) Societies; and Naturalization and Political Life.

1) V. Talbot, Americanization, p. 2.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FINNISH RACE.

Finland is situated in Northern Europe, on the shores of the Baltic Sea which embraces the country on the south and west through the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia, respectively. Its adjacent countries are Sweden on the west and Russia on the east. Its utmost limits are 59° 48′—70° N., and 19° 2′—32° 50′ E.

Racial background. The Finns belong to that linguistic if not racial group of languages known as Finno-Ugric, first used by the Finnish ethnologist Mathias A. Castren. The first part of this name is probably the same name Tacitus spoke of under the the name of Fenni and Finnoi of Ptolemy, though it is not absolutely certain that those races were Finns in the modern sense. The native word *Suomi,* which appears to be derived from *suo,* a marsh, and *maa,* land, seems to indicate that Finland means fenland or the land of marshes, and *suomalaiset,* the people of the marshes.

Finn and Finnish are used not only of the inhabitants of Finland but also, in a wider sense, of similar tribes found in Russia. They may be grouped con-

veniently under the following peoples. (1) The *Finns* proper, which is "the most important and civilized division of the group, and which is the subject of our present study, is composed of two principal subdivisions, the Hamalaiset or Tavasts, who occupy the southern and western parts of the Republic of Finland, and the Karjalaiset or Karelians found in the east and north, as far as Lake Onega and towards the White Sea. A third tribe called Kainulaiset was formerly found in Sweden, whence the Swedes call the Finn Qven, but they have been amalgamated with their neighbors. (2) The *Karelians* are not usually regarded as separate from the Finns, though they are a distinct tribe as much as the Vepsas and Votes. They are found east of Finland in the governments of Archangel and Olonets. It was among them that Elias Lonnrot gathered the epic runes which were published in 1835 under the name of "Kalevala". (3) The *Esthonians* are the peasantry of the Russian province of Esthonia and the neighboring districts. (4) The name of *Livonians* is given to the old Finnish-speaking population of west Livland or Livonia and north Kurland, but after the Great War they have been considerably scattered. (5) The *Vepsas* or *Vepses*, also called Northern Chudes, are found west of Lake Onega and in the governments of Olonets and Novgorod. This tribe together with the Votes are allied to the Es-

thonians. They are, however, more numerous than (6) the *Votes*, who at present occupy only about thirty parishes in north-west Ingria, the district around Petrograd. They are also called Southern Chudes or Vatjalaiset. (7) The *Lapps* are found in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russian Kola Peninsula. (8) The *Cheremissians* and (9) the *Mordvians* are together called *Volga Finns*, because they inhabit the banks of the Volga, the former chiefly in the neighborhood of Kasan, the latter scattered over the provinces near the middle of the Volga, in distinction from the first-named tribes, who are often spoken of as *Baltic Finns*. (10) *Permians* and *Syrenians*, who are found chiefly in the provinces of Perm, Vologda and Archangel, may be said to form one tribe and they together with (11) the *Votiaks* form the *Permian* group of tribes. The *Ugrian* subdivision or group of Finnish tribes, which seems to be in many respects more primitive, consists of three peoples standing on very different levels of civilization, namely, (12) the *Ostiaks*, (13) the *Voguls* and (14) the *Hungarians*. The Voguls live on both sides of the Ural Mountains, while Ostiaks inhabit the government of Tobolsk and the banks of the Obi. The Hungarians are geographically separated from these but their language is more closely akin to that of the Ob-Ugrians, thus pointing to an earlier geographical connection.

The statistics on the Finno-Ugric races are not up to date; we are obliged to rely to a great extent on the statistics gathered through the general Russian census of 1897, and even these are not always accurate. Of the Ostiaks and Voguls we have, how-



Finno-Ugric Family-tree of Languages.
(From the "Tietosanakirja", Vol. IX, p. 482.)

ever, very reliable statistics from the year 1900, taken by the Finnish scientists A. Kannisto and K. F. Karjalainen. Of the other tribes the statistics are from 1910, except of the Finns proper, of whom we are able to give those of 1917.

TABLE I.[1])

Finns	3,346,853
Karelians	229,800
Esthonians	1,007,400
Livonians (estimate)	3,000
Vepsas	25,500
Votes (estimate)	1,000
Lapps	29,800
Cheremissians	375,400
Mordvians	1,023,900
Syrenians	258,300
Votiaks	421,000
Ostiaks	18,000
Voguls	5,000
Hungarians	8,892,300
The grand total of the Finno-Ugric race	15,637,253

Many of these tribes are nearly extinct or are fast disappearing (Votes, Livonians, Voguls and Ostiaks); others are subject to disappearance because of their small number (Vepsas and Lapps). The greatest increase is found among Mordvians, Syrenians, Finns and Hungarians; they compose about 86% of the total number of Finno-Ugric family. The scale of increase is, Mordvians, 113%; Syrenians, 109.7%; Finns, 107.5%; and Hungarians, 80.6%.

1) See "Tietosanakirja", Vol. IX, pp. 286—290; Enc. Brit., Vol. X, 388—393; "The Republic of Finland", an Economic and Financial Survey.

Only the Finns, Hungarians, and Esthonians have become thoroughly civilized; the first two have their independent political existence at present. The other tribes are partly nomads, living to some extent on reindeer, agriculture, fishing, and hunting; some of them are very skillful in commerce and in trading. All of them have been converted to Christianity, although pagan customs continue among some of the nomads. The first Finns were converted to the Roman Catholic faith in 1157, but early adopted the Protestant faith in the Evangelical Lutheran form.

"The name Finno-Ugric is primarily linguistic and must not be pressed as indicating a community of physical features and customs", says Sir Charles Eliot, writing on the Finno-Ugrians in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. "But making allowance for the change of language by some tribes, the Finno-Ugrians form, with striking exception of the Hungarians, a moderately homogeneous whole." But now let us raise the interesting question of the relation of the Finno-Ugric group to that of the other large groups of languages. To what larger group is it related?

The writer just quoted affirms that the "Finno-Ugric languages are generally considered as a division of the Ural-Altaic group, which consists of four families: Turkish, Mongol, Manchu and Finno-Ug-

ric, including Samoyede unless it is reckoned separately as a fifth." This would place the Finnish race along side of the Mongolians, as has become quite customary for popular historians in America to do. The same writer admits that "on the other hand, the more developed agglutinative languages, such as Finnish, approach the inflected Aryan type, so that the Aryan language may have been developed from an ancestor not unlike the Ural-Altaic group." To this it is only necessary to add that more recent research and study regarding the position of the Finno-Ugric group in relation to the other main linguistic groups, in which field Finnish ethnologists and scientists have done most important work, has thrown the old theory into disrepute. They argue with much plausibility that the original abode of the Finnish race cannot be placed on the northern slopes of the Altai Mountains in Asia, as had formerly been believed, but that they may have lived in Europe even before the migration of the Teutonic hordes took place. V. Tarkiainen concludes that "it appears more certain at this moment that the original home of the Finno-Ugrians must be considered to have been near the middle of Volga."[1]) This much at least is certain, that the modern Finnish race does not represent any pure racial stock but that there is an infusion of German, Scandinavian, and even Slavic blood in

1) See "Tietosanakirja", Vol IX, p. 294.

their veins to a considerable degree. But let us next view briefly some of the main points in the history of the Finns.

Historical background. The colonization of Finland may be traced back to the first centuries of our Christian era. By the year 600 they were well settled there. Two separate nationalities have gone to the formation of its people, i. e. the Finns and the Swedes. These nationalities may be said to have merged into one nation in the course of history. Two long bays of the Baltic Sea embrace Finland: the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia, and these provided the country with early means of communication with the western world. Thus animated relations, based on commerce and war, have existed from the remote past between the Finns and the peoples of the West dwelling on the coast of the Baltic.

The Finns were converted to Christianity by the Swedes, who made three crusades in the years 1157, 1249, and 1293. As a result of these crusades Finland was united politically with Sweden. But the union with Sweden in no way implied subjugation of an inferior nation, as the Finns at this epoch had attained almost the same degree of culture as the Swedes.

The union between these two countries under the same crown brought both of them considerable advantages. Their internal disputes once settled, it

enabled them to unite their strength against Russia who continually threatened them from the east and was ever growing in strength as it grew older. Finland has been the seat of war for centuries and its homes, towns, and the whole country have often been laid bare either by famine or pestilence or war. Through this union, furthermore, Finland was being more strongly drawn into the domain of western civilization and held within it. Its people have taken part in numerous important historical events; but these facts are recorded in history under the history of Sweden, and for this reason we hardly ever read of Finns accomplishing anything. They fought bravely at the side of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War on the fields of Lutzen and Breitenfeld. They took part in the colonization of Delaware together with the Swedes, and have thus contributed to the building up of our nation. And the part they played in the early history of Philadelphia, for example, was not so very small. While not wishing to detract in any way from the reputation of William Penn, attention must be called to the historical fact that the Swedes and Finns, nearly fifty years before Penn came to America, introduced and practiced the spirit of fairness and conciliation in dealing with the Indians, and it is known that some of the Finns acted as interpreters for William Penn in making his treaties with the Indians. There yet stands

today The Old Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia, built in 1700 by the Swedes and Finns. It is the oldest church in the city.[1]) An interesting fact still remains to be pointed out in this connection. The Delaware Swedes and Finns have been so thoroughly Americanized that a trace of their racial separateness cannot be found today, and some of the earliest American families, tracing their lineage to colonial times, may have an infusion of Finnish blood in their veins. The Finns have been one of the earliest races to become thoroughly Americanized.

The political and spiritual union of Finland with Sweden lasted nearly six hundred years. But in 1808, during the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, Alexander I of Russia made war against Sweden, and as a result of it Finland was forced to unite with Russia. It did not, however, enter as a conquered province, but, "thanks to the bravery of her people after they had been abandoned by the incompetent Gustavus IV and treacherous generals, and not less to the wisdom and generosity of the emperor Alexander I", it maintained its free constitution and fundamental laws, and became a semi-independent grand-duchy with the emperor as grand-duke. From the time of its union with Russia at the Diet of Borga in 1809 till the events of 1899, when the infamous

1) See Swedes in America, 1638—1900, Vol I, Amandus Johnson, and "Amerikan Ensimäiset Suomalaiset", S. Ilmonen.

February Manifesto was declared, Finland was practically a separate state, the emperor of Russia as grand-duke governing by means of a nominated senate and a diet elected on a very narrow franchise, and meeting at distant and irregular intervals.

The rule of the first Russian emperors was on the whole beneficial and prosperous for Finland, and the name of Alexander II has been especially preserved in the grateful memory of his loving subjects. His statue in the great square in front of the Lutheran Catheral of St. Nicholas and the senate house in Helsingfors testifies to the regard in which his memory is cherished by his Finnish subjects. But unfortunately the succeeding rulers fell under the influence of the reactionary party which had begun to assert itself after the assassination of Alexander II. The Slavophil movement, with its motto: "one law, one church, one tongue", gained great influence in official circles, and its aim was, in defiance of the pledges of successive Czars, to subject Finland to Orthodoxy and Autocracy. It is needless to follow this struggle between the Russian bureaucracy and the defenders of the Finnish constitution which attracted wide attention in political and cultural spheres in Europe at the time, and which may be said to have prepared the way for the recognition of Finnish independence by all civilized nations at the time of the Russian revolution in

1917. But it is important for a clear understanding of the immigration problem of the Finns to appreciate the political conditions as forming the background for the large immigration of Finns since 1899 into America.

For the study of the Russo-Finnish conflict we refer the student of history to the writings of Mechelin, Danielson-Kalmari and Hermanson; J. R. Fischer has also discussed the constitutional question fully in his book, entitled "Finland and the Tsars" (2nd edition in 1900). In 1910 Harrison & Sons, London, edited a volume, entitled "The Russo-Finnish Conflict", which presents the Russian side of the case. See also the memoirs of rector Edw. Hjelt, of the University of Helsingfors, entitled "Vaiherikkailta Vuosilta" (in Finnish), and numerous other works.

Concerning later political events in Finland, we quote briefly from "The Republic of Finland", which has been mentioned before. "The work of destruction entered upon by the Russian Government and Duma was at last frustrated by the revolution, which broke out in Russia in the spring of 1917. This revolution, however, at the same time brought to the surface the basest elements of the Russian people. The Russian troops quartered in Finland very soon became saturated with communistic and anarchical doctrines and began to spread the con-

tagion in that country. The Russian troops broke open the prisons and the houses of correction, provided the released criminals and the mob in the streets with rifles and other munitions, and tried in every way, by enkindling the passions of the working classes, to bring about a revolution. In order to encourage further the revolutionary instincts of the people, the Russian sailors raided some of the large country estates, pillaging and murdering. At the same time they prevented the constitutional Government of the country from creating any armed forces for maintenance of order. The union of Finland with Russia lasted until the sixth of December, 1917; then Finland declared itself an independent, sovereign state".

The work of propaganda and anarchistic contagion spread from the enemy and infected some elements of the Finnish people. This culminated in the bloody war, which was fought in the spring of 1918. The result of this cruel war was that the Finnish White army succeeded in routing the Russian troops and the Finnish red-guards and thus saved the liberty of the country. But its result may further be interpreted as being "the staving off of the wave of Bolshevism which aimed at the destruction of Western civilization".

The old constitution was now changed and a republican form of government was adopted on the

17th day of June, 1919. "The parliament is composed of 200 members, elected for a period of three years, by means of general elections, direct voting, and secret ballot; both sexes have the right to vote at the age of 24 years. The President of the Republic is elected for a period of six years. It was decided that the first President should be elected by the Parliament but that all succeeding Presidents should be elected by the general vote".[1])

Population. It was already pointed out above that the number of inhabitants in Finland in 1917 was 3,346,853. Of these there were 2,961,853 Finnish speaking people, this being about 88.5% of the total population, and 385,000 Swedish speaking, which is 11.5% of the total. This division need not be considered as representing two distinct nationalities in Finland. The official publication, referred to above, says on this point that "it must be remembered that the Swedish speaking section of the Finnish people can not be regarded as a different nationality, because there is a considerable number of the originally Swedish speaking people, who now speak exclusively Finnish, and on the other hand many real Finns now speak Swedish. This mutual merging together, a work of centuries, has taken place because the settlements of the Swedish speaking people have not been continuous, but were wedged between purely

1) The Republic of Finland, p. 7.

Finnish districts. In consequence of this the majority has always, in course of time, won over the minority to its own language, and besides intermarriages between the two peoples have been very frequent."

As regards physical structure, the Finns are, according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "a strong, hardy race, of low stature, with almost round head, low forehead, flat features, prominent cheek bones, eyes mostly grey and oblique, short and flat nose, protruding mouth, thick lips, neck very full and strong; — complexion also somewhat brown." In this characterization of the Finns it is noticeable that the theory of Mongolinism undoubtedly possesses the mind of the writer, as he concludes that these "characteristics they have in common with the so-called Mongolian race." Prof. R. Tigerstedt, a noted Finnish physiologist, gives the figures regarding the height of different European races.

TABLE II.[1])

Lapps	1.50	metres
Hungarians	1.633	„
Bavarians	1.638	„
Russians	1.642	„
French	1.649	„
Italians	1.56—1.665	„

1) Physiology, R. Tigerstedt, p. 302.

Finns	1.659—1.699	metres
English and Irish	1.69	„
Danes	1.692	„
Swedes	1.695	„
Norwegians	1.696—1.698	„
Scotch	1.708	„

These figures represent averages as shown by the conscription statistics of the respective countries. According to this study the Finns are not of low stature but belong among the tallest people of Europe. The official publication of Finland proves as much. It states that "the people of Finland are strong and comparatively tall." It further says concerning other physical features that "the majority are fair", and "about 78% of the people are blue-eyed and about 57% are light-haired".[1]) We are inclined, on the basis of our personal knowledge of the matter, to agree with the latter opinion.

The Finns are reputed to be "morally upright, hospitable, faithful, and submissive, with a keen sense of personal freedom and independence, but also somewhat stolid, revengeful, and indolent".[2]) Their stolidity does not, however, seem to bother them in America, for the Finnish children in general are among the brightest pupils in our public schools; and as to their indolence, it cannot be said

1) Op. cit., p. 11
2) See Enc. Brit. Vol. X.

to be common with them. The Finns have made an enviable name for themselves in America as hard and competent workers in the mines, on the farms, textile factories, and other lines of occupation which they may have chosen. They possess instead remarkable teachability as is shown by their adeptness in various kinds of labor in which they may have been placed and concerning which they had no previous experience. Prof. L. A. Chase remarks, in his book on "Rural Michigan", that "the Finnish farmer is the most teachable of any national element and his capacity for coöperation is notable".[1])

Another characteristic quality of the Finnish nature is its obstinacy, which may, again, be interpreted in two ways. It may be due to stupidity and dullness, and then it is a negative quality, but if it indicates perseverance and determination to overcome hardships and difficulties, then it must be reckoned as a positive factor. And modern psychologists are disposed to look upon the will and various functions of the mind as constituting a unity, so that where there is strong will it also indicates strong feeling and a higher degree of intelligence. It is only as if we were looking at the same thing from different angles and aspects. Prof J. Royce says that will implies cognition, and Paulsen, Wundt, and other scientists of the biological school take the same view.

1) p. 173.

"This Finnish obstinacy", writes Paul Waineman in his admirable description of "A Summer Tour in Finland", "is the outcome of centuries of endurance. Every field of corn has been fought for against odds that would have conquered others. Most races would have fled from this land of morass and forest, wrapped in the silence of eight months of frost, when no living thing is heard, and all is stagnant and lifeless. But the Finns remembered those four months given to them as a recompense for their endurance—those four months of life, when the forests would teem with countless singing birds, when the day would have no night, when sunlight, that miraculous power of sunlight, would make every growing thing wax strong and multiply. They would work sometimes twenty hours out of the twenty-four to conquer that earth and make it yield to them the fruits of harvest."

We have tried in this chapter to introduce the Finn as he is seen in his native setting, and as he comes to the modern time carried by the two streams of social process and historical environment on one hand, and the racial heredity on the other. It will now be our task to follow him as an immigrant to America and try to interpret him as a factor in our Americanization problem.

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CHAPTER III.

CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION FROM FINLAND.

Fairchild in his book on Immigration (p. 146) divides the causes for immigration into natural and unnatural causes. Among the first he names the superiority of the economic conditions in the United States over those in the countries from which the immigrants come. It is essentially today an economic phenomenon. Under the unnatural causes he names the religious and political causes. These have played a great part in the past. Then we are told by no less an authority than the Commissioner General of Immigration of the United States in 1909, that large numbers have been induced to come by the transportation companies and labor agents. We shall study this phase of our problem on the basis of the facts as published in Finland, where the reasons should best be understood.

The first cause for immigration from Finland has been, with the first comers from Norway and Sweden, as well as with the later ones, meager earnings and uncertainty of subsistence. This can be readily seen from the rise and fall of immigration according to financial conditions in America.

The second important cause has been the compulsory military service law which was enacted in 1878, just about the time that immigration from Finland began to grow. An explanation for this is not that the Finn is afraid to fight,—on the contrary it must be said that he is a great warrior, as the histories of the Thirty Years War, Turko-Russian War of 1877, The World War, The Red Rebellion of Finland in 1918 etc. prove—but naturally peace-loving he has seen too much of war. His country has been a battlefield for centuries in the struggle for supremacy between the Slavs and the Scandinavians in the Baltic countries. He has shed his blood on nearly every foreign battlefield where nations have assembled. As a result of this, there is instilled into the mind of the Finn a dread and abhorrence of war. This sentiment has been instilled in him by his mother while he was being taught his nursery rhymes. No, a Finn is not a coward where a righteous war is necessary, but as he could not quite sympathize with the plans of the old Russian regime for military aggrandizement, he left his country in order to avoid unpopular military service.

An important cause is also found in the restless, dissatisfied mind of youth, the so called "wanderlust". No other reason can be attributed to the emigration of so many young men and even married people, who are not moved by any financial pressure.

These reasons are given by M. Tarkkanen, "Immigration, Its Cause and Results".[1])

A study of our Table No. IV shows that immigration increased about 400% in 1899 until it had risen to about 700% in 1902 from that of 1898. The reason for this is not difficult to find. It was in 1899 that Czar Nicholas II declared his "February Manifesto" against Finland, taking away many of the constitutional rights guaranteed under the Constitution of Finland and approved by the emperors under solemn oath. A bitter and dark epoch followed in the political life of Finland. The country arose in opposition to such violations, expressing the general opinion through the Press and through the right of appeal to the Czar, but to no avail. The more active political leaders of the opposition were exiled from the country by the Czar, and a period of general suspicion directed against peaceful citizens resulted. This drove thousands and thousands away from their homeland "to the land of the free, and the home of the brave". It looked for a while as if the country would be either depopulated, or lose all signs of its independent position. Today, however, Finland is an independent Republic with one of the most democratic forms of government found anywhere.

1) p. 7, in Finnish.

Prof. O. H. Kilpi, in his book on Immigration and Economy of Finland during the 19th Century, (p. 31), discusses the question of immigration in a scientific way. He says that the causes for immigration have presented one of the hardest problems for economists and statesmen to solve. He does not seem to give the "wanderlust" theory much weight, although it has been made much of by writers on the immigration of the Germanic and Romanic tribes. Neither does he seem to agree with the Malthusian doctrine of surplus-population as having any basis in the immigration from Finland.[1])

On the contrary Kilpi shows that the number of acres yield in 1910 of wheat, rye, barley, oats, etc.

1) The problems growing out of population were first treated in a thorough way by an English clergyman by the name of Robert Malthus in his "Essay on the Principle of Population". His general conclusion is that in all societies of which we have knowledge there is a tendency of population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. According to Malthus this tendency rests upon: "(a) The strength of the sexual passion which in countries in which population is free to expand results in doubling the population at least in a quarter of a century; (b) the inability of mankind to increase means of subsistence forever in a like ratio. In other words, while population tends to increase in a geometrical ratio, the means of subsistence increases at not more than an arithmetical ratio". These ratios, although suggested by Malthus, were not intended to be exact, and his theory may be summarized briefly in his statement that, "It is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it". It is only fair to point out that many of the preventive checks on the increase of population that go under the name of Malthusianism, were not suggested by him.

See "Poverty and Dependency", J. L. Gillin, Ch. XXXVIII.

was larger per person than a century before. Agricultural progress in Finland has not only kept pace with the increase in population, but has even exceeded it. Commerce and other productive technic has also developed very rapidly. The old time individual agricultural implements have given way to modern machinery, dairy implements have been installed on a very large scale, and improvements have been made along other lines. Factories have also increased in number, especially paper and pulp mills, so that the exports from Finland during the last two years have been much larger than the imports. A few years ago, however, the imports surpassed the exports because the country was passing through a period of transition from hand-labor to that of machinery. But although the country does provide for its population just as well as in the past, the fact remains that seasonal conditions in farming, long months of more or less idleness during the severe winters, and increase in the cost of living, have tended to create dissatisfaction not only among the agricultural population of the north, whence the majority of the immigrants have come, but also among those engaged in industrial pursuits.

Prof. Kilpi strikes the heart of this problem when he states that development has gone in Finland as well as in other countries from the agricultural to technical and industrial conditions. "Emigration

from a country always appears, as far as time is concerned, during that period of social-economic transition which is caused by an industrial and capitalistic revolution in an old traditional agricultural community". This transition he terms "social capillarity". And he quotes Kautsky who has figured that during the seven year period from 1901—1908 5,740,000 persons from agricultural life emigrated from Europe".[1]) It is true that they not only leave the country but move into cities and industrial centers. Thus the "Pohjalaiset" (inhabitants of the provinces of Wasa and Oulu) have formed the bulk of the immigrants as well as of the industrial workers.

A further reason for immigration among the "Pohjalaiset" is found to exist in their nature and characteristics. They are active, possess physical vitality, and are daring and enterprising. They were found early as sailors or fishermen on the Norwegian coast, and as shipbuilders and carpenters in many cities. They thus became fortune seekers who could undergo the severities and trials of a stranger trying to establish himself amid new and strange conditions.

In 1891 it was stated in the Diet of Finland, that one who understands the conditions in Northern

1) Vermehrung und Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft, 1910, p. 8.

Europe, understands the reason for immigration to America. "As long as Finland can not pay like wages to laborers as America does, where wages are three or four times as high as ours, emigration from Finland will never cease". The large number of immigrants who return to Finland for a short stay, and those who reside permanently there, spread the knowledge of our better wages to everyone who is interested in finding out. This fact of immigrants informing others, or helping them in securing transportation tickets, is to be considered as an important factor.

Many other causes have contributed to the immigration of the Finn but they are to be considered more or less accidental rather than real, permanent causes. All these factors, taken together, have been powerful enough to separate about one-tenth of the population of Finland from their home and native land.

Effects of emigration. What, we may ask in this connection, are the effects of emigration of so many people from a country; and what are some of the effects of immigration upon the country receiving them? There are two views with regard to emigration: one unfavorable, because it is "a drain on population, reducing its economic strength and disturbing social and political relations"; the second looks upon it as a relief from over-population and a

congested labor market. As a general fact, emigration has not succeeded in diminishing the population of the countries of Europe, although emigration from some of them has been very heavy. The one great exception is Ireland, where population declined from 8,175,124 in 1841 to 4,458,745 in 1901. Emigration must be considered as being directly responsible for this condition, for about 72% of the total population emigrated from the country between the years of 1851—1901. But on the other hand the countries of strongest emigration hitherto (England, Germany etc.) have shown practically undiminished birth and marriage rates and a steady growth in population. Doctors Richmond Mayo-Smith and T. A. Ingram, writing on the subject of Migration in The Encyclopaedia Britannica,[1]) conclude that "emigration may give temporary relief to congested districts, but it is not in itself a remedy for so-called over-population", for while emigration is heavy, there is usually a considerable excess of births over deaths.

This may be true, for there is no inherent check on the increase in population in the fact of emigration itself, it may rather help to raise the increase by opening up many advantages and territory to those remaining; but in a sparsely inhabited

1) Vol. XVIII, 11th Ed.

country, like Finland, it would lack this effect and might even reduce materially the rate of increase in the country.

The economic effect of emigration is more difficult to analyze closely, because so much depends upon the character of the emigrants and the labor markets. Some point out, that as the emigrants are in the most productive period of life, the country of emigration loses adults and replaces them with children, thus it bears the burden of educating them only to be deprived of their labor as soon as they are old enough to leave their native land. Then again, it is urged that voluntary emigration takes away the cream of the working class, because it is the man of energy, of ambition, and perseverance who takes the chance of success in the new country, leaving the poor, the indolent, the weak and the crippled at home. Although this may be true in a great many cases, it is not always the case, for very often the men who are doing well at home are the ones least likely to emigrate, because they have least to gain. It is unnecessary to try to weigh these arguments here, but they stand in close relation with the study of the causes of immigration, and for that reason we have pointed them out. In general it may be said that the effects of emigration appear to be negative in character upon the land losing some of its population.

Effects of immigration. The effects of immigration, on the other hand, are positive, and may be spoken of under the effects (a) on population and (b) on economics. Immigration, of course, is a direct addition to the population. The statistics of the United States show that over 23 million immigrants entered the country between the years of 1820—1905. Prior to 1820 there was no official record of immigration. This addition to our population, for example, was sufficient to give us an average annual increase of 24% between the years of 1850—1900, while the average annual increase during the same time for the whole of Europe was only 8.2%.[1]) The economic gain of immigration to a new country is also evident. It adds directly to the number of adults engaged in the work of producing wealth.

We have already pointed out the fact that economists place a money value on each able-bodied immigrant who enters our country. Prof. Kilpi estimates this value as being about $1000 per person; others place it as being from $800 to $1000, this being the amount at which an adult slave used to be valued. Then again, it has been said that an adult immigrant represents what it would cost to bring up a child from infancy to a period when he would be able to take care of himself, say, of about 15 years.

1) See Enc. Brit., Vol XXII, p. 100, 11th Ed.

Ernst Engel has estimated this at $550 for a German child. The most scientific procedure, however, is claimed to be to calculate the probable earnings of the immigrant during the rest of his lifetime, and deduct therefrom his expense of living. Such efforts to put a precise money value on immigration are futile, for they neglect the question of quality and opportunity. But on the whole we may conclude that immigration is an asset to the country of immigration.

A word or two might be added concerning the political effects of immigration. A noted writer says on this point: "The influx of millions of persons of different nationality, often of a foreign language and generally of lower classes, would seem to be a danger to the homogeneity of a community. The United States, for instance, has felt some inconvenience from the constant addition of foreigners to its electorate and its population. The foreign-born are more numerously represented among the criminal, defective, and dependent classes than their numerical strength would justify. They also tend to segregate more or less, especially in large cities." But then he adds, "Nevertheless, the process of assimilation goes on with great rapidity". The influences helping in the assimilation are inter-marriage and physical environment, which lead to the adoption of the same mode of life. But particularly

effective are the social influences, viz., common school education and the adoption of one language, participation in political life, which is granted to all citizens after five years' residence, and the general influence of the established social standards represented by law, institutions, and customs of America". And the same writer concludes: "Doubtless immigration in the last fifty years of the 19th century had a modifying effect on American life; but on the whole the power of a modern civilized community working through individual freedom to assimilate elements not differing too radically has been displayed to a remarkable degree".[1])

Having studied the causes of immigration from Finland and having called attention to some of the general effects of emigration and immigration, we are ready to discuss the size of Finnish immigration in the next chapter. Then, later, we shall see how well these general principles are exemplified by the actual life of the Finns in America.

1) Enc. Brit., Vol. XVIII, p. 431, 11th Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

FINNISH IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

We shall submit a few statistics to show the size and importance of immigration from Finland. In general it is to be noted that immigration from Finland started some thirty years later than from the Scandinavian countries. We have gathered our facts from various sources and have endeavored to arrive at real conclusions by comparing the data.

Not to speak of those Finns who came over in 1639 to colonize Delaware in company with Swedes, —although it would be very interesting because of the prominent part these colonists played in the early history of Delaware, Philadelphia and our early colonial period, and also because they have been Americanized so thoroughly that no racial trace of them is left—we turn to the first arrivals in modern immigration from Finland.

About 1850 the California gold fever drew over two hundred Finns who settled on that coast. Some five years later during the Crimean War we find many Finnish sailors, who sailed under the Russian

flag, remaining in America because they did not wish to risk being captured by English boats on the high seas. It has been estimated that at least 150 sailors settled, about that time, in New Orleans, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. Again we find certain causes at work a little later that resulted in the immigration of small numbers of Finns. The United States needed sailors to man her boats during the trying years of the Civil War, and over 100 Finns entered the service of the United States in 1861. After the war they settled in the large cities on the Atlantic coast, viz. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. They were joined by other sailors about the same time, but we have no definite figures to show their number.

Immigration proper commenced, however, in 1864. That year we find Finns migrating from Hammarfest, Vesisaari, Wadso (Vartsjo) and Kaafjord, Norway, to the Copper Country in Upper Michigan. They came in company with Norwegians who had been engaged by the Quincy Mining Company of Hancock to work in the copper mines. Among this group we find names like Lintulahti, Noppa, Parkkanen etc. The first immigrants therefore came from Norway where several thousand Finns are found mostly engaged in fishing on the Norwegian coast. In 1870, '71, '72, and '73 we find several groups of immigrants from Finland (from

Osterbotten, Torneo River, and Liuksiniemi) traveling by the way of the Great Lakes to Hancock, Michigan, and Duluth, Minnesota. One boat carried 100 immigrants. We find an interesting account in one of the daily papers of Chicago at this time, stating that "the Russian Finns have begun to come to America". Some of the early comers seem to have left work in the mines at Hancock, Michigan, and have gone to Minnesota where they settled in Franklin, Holmes City, and Cokato between 1864 and 1865. These places are still inhabited by a large number of Finns and we find some of the finest farms of the Northwest in their possession. For the sake of historical interest we may point out that some score of the first would-be-miners never entered upon their expected work, but found service in the United States' army during the last years of the Civil War.

We may pass over rapidly the other arrivals up to the year 1873. Between the years 1871—73 Finns were pushing their way to the farthest western coast of the country, to Astoria, Oregon, where they have ever since held an important place as fishermen, and to Washington. A few Finns also came to Marquette County, Michigan, about this time. They found work in the mines or the small iron furnaces then in use, but the operations were very limited until the railroads were built to Marquette from the

not find newcomers in large numbers until the year 1880.[1])

Having covered the early beginning of modern Finnish immigration we are now ready to study the statistics of the great wave of Finnish immigration to America.

TABLE III.[2])

Between	1871—75	about	225	immigrants	arrived	from Finland.
„	1876—80	„	220	„	„	„ „
„	1881—85	„	3717	„	„	„ „
„	1886—90	„	21968	„	„	„ „

Official statistics were not made by the government of Finland until 1883 when the governor of Wasa, from where most of the immigrants left, and the governor of the province of Oulu in 1884, were directed by the State to keep definite records of all emigrants to whom passports were issued. Since 1893 official statistics have been kept of the whole country.

Arthur Hjelt estimates the total number of immigrants to America up to the year 1892 as 36,401 persons.[3])

1) Most of these facts have been received from the unpublished manuscripts of my colleague, Rev. S. Ilmonen, Detroit, Mich.

2) O. H. Kilpi, Finnish Immigration and National Economics during the 19th Century.

3) Social-Economic Magazine, Finnish 1905.

TABLE IV.[1])

The number of immigrants since 1893:

Year	Men	Women	Total	% for every 10,000 of pop.
1893	6,277	2,840	9,117	37.3
1894	637	743	1,380	5.6
1895	2,063	1,957	4,020	16.0
1896	3,078	2,107	5,185	20.4
1897	866	1,050	1,916	7.4
1898	2,001	1,466	3,467	13.2
1899	7,599	4,476	12,075	45.2
1900	6,265	4,132	10,397	38.6
1901	8,237	4,324	12561	46.0
1902	16,075	7,077	23,152	83.8

TABLE V.[2])

The number of immigrants since 1903:

Year	Total
1903	16,964
1904	10,952
1905	17,427
1906	17,517
1907	16,296
1908	5,812
1909	19,144
1910	19,007

1) Social-Economic Magazine, 1905.

2) From Immigration Records, Official Finland Bulletin XXVIII, 1920.

1911	9,372
1912	10,724
1913	20,057
1914	6,474
1915	4,041
1916	5,325
1917	2,773
1918	1,900

The total number of immigrants from Finland between the years 1893 and 1918 was, according to these official Finnish reports, 267,059. If we add the 36,401 that had come prior to 1893, we have the total number of Finnish immigrants to America up to the year 1918, as 303,460.

The official statistics of Finland do not, however, distinguish the immigrants who intend to sail for Canada from those that intend to sail to other American countries. They are all classed under immigrants to America. To the number going to South America, we do not need to pay much attention, because it is insignificantly small. The group going to Canada is much larger, in fact, it comprises nearly one-fifth of the total number, or about 60,000 up to 1918.[1]) This would leave 243,460 Finns of foreign birth in the United States in 1918.

1) S. Ilmonen, Statistics of Finnish Immigration, 1921, and other authorities.

But before leaving this question of the size of Finnish immigration to America, we must point out other important factors to be considered which affect the figures to some extent. Many immigrants return to their native land after a few year's stay here. Especially has this been true concerning those comers who have had to leave Finland in haste to avoid political torture. Have we any way of determining this proportion? The question seems rather difficult to answer definitely for no exact statistics can be found on this matter. Many of them who return to Finland have become naturalized American citizens—but in Finland they are still considered as subjects of Finland—so even if they should return to America the Finnish statistics do not show this, for they have returned on passports issued to American citizens. That large proportions of them do return is proved by the statement of the Finnish attaché in Washington, Akseli Rauanheimo (appointed later as Finnish consul in Canada), who writes that in 1922 2913 immigrants came to America from Finland, but during the same time 2753 persons returned to Finland, leaving the actual gain in favor of America 160. But he goes on to say that the majority of those returning to Finland were American citizens, and were not classed as emigrants when they came back to

America later, which was true of most of them (Amerikan Suometar, March 7, 1922). (The question of the citizenship of the naturalized American citizens should be definitely agreed upon between America and the foreign countries concerned, because, for example, in time of war, such citizens are placed in a difficult position; they are claimed by their native country as well as by the country of their adoption.) The official Finnish Bulletin on immigration (Siirtolaisuustilasto v. 1918) states, on the basis of the facts reported by the Steamship companies carrying immigrants, that the total number of immigrants returning from America between the years 1899 and 1914, amounted to 90,672 persons. This means about 29% of the total number of all emigrants from Finland. About 25% of this number have certainly returned to America, or 22,660, so that the loss to America may be estimated at about 68,000 persons. — The other factor tending to diminish the number of the Finnish immigrants in America, is the natural phenomenon of death. Estimating that about 8 out of every thousand Finns have died here since their immigration began in 1864, or about 14,031, we finally arrive at the conclusion that the number of Finns of foreign birth to be accounted for in the United States today should be 161,417. It will be interesting to note next how well the official figures of the

United States coincide with the facts which we have established through another source.

TABLE VI.[1])

Statistics of the United States Showing the Number of Finns in America.

Census of 1910.

State	Born in Finland 1900	Born in Finland 1910	Born in America 1910	Total in 1910
New Hampshire .	321	1,198	636	1,834
Massachusetts ...	5,104	10,744	5,426	16,170
New York	4,048	8,760	2,746	11,506
New Jersey	367	1,640	619	2,259
Pennsylwania	988	2,413	1,275	3,688
Ohio	2,814	3,988	3,313	7,301
Illinois	859	2,390	792	3,182
Michigan	18,910	31,144	24,404	55,548
Wisconsin	2,198	5,705	3,991	9,696
Minnesota	10,727	26,637	17,826	44,463
North Dakota ...	651	1,186	1,424	2,610
South Dakota	1,175	1,381	1,694	3,075
Montana	2,103	4,111	2,512	6,623
Wyoming	1,220	1,380	774	2,154
Colorado	844	1,238	618	1,857
Utah	734	1,012	523	1,535
Washington	2,723	8,719	4,539	13,258
Oregon	2,131	4,734	2,977	7,711
California	5,763	6,159	2,836	8,996
	62,641	129,669	81,357	211,926

1) Statistical Abstract of the United States Government. 1910.

TABLE VII.[1])

Census of 1920

State	Born in Finland	State	Born in Finland
Arizona	407	New Jersey	2,109
California	7,053	New York	12,504
Connecticut	1,226	North Dakota ..	1,108
Colorado	879	Ohio	6,406
Dist. of Columbia	104	Oregon	6,050
Idaho	989	Pennsylvania ...	2,818
Illinois	3,080	South Carolina .	53
Maine	1,393	South Dakota ...	1,085
Massachusetts ..	14,570	Utah	779
Michigan	30,096	Vermont..	476
Minnesota	29,108	Virginia	240
Mississippi	62	Washington	11,863
Montana	3,577	Wisconsin	6,757
Nevada	182	Wyoming	856
New Hampshire.	1,558	Total	149,824

The Total number born in Finland in 1920, according to United States statistics, was 149,824; our figure was 161,417 persons, as will be remembered. 81,357 were born in America up to 1910. We are sorry to say that we were unable to get the number born of Finnish parentage in America in 1920. Only those states are considered in the Census of 1910

1) Official United States census reports for 1920.

where the number of Finns born in Finland was at least one thousand. In the Census of 1920 the Finnish population in all the states is supposed to be counted, but from our personal knowledge there are several hundred Finns of foreign birth in some states that have not been considered. There are at least 900 Finns in Texas although statistics failed to report any. Several have gone there, perhaps, after the last census, but the number found there prior to 1920 was sufficiently large to be recognized.[1]) We submit another table which presents facts from a different source.

1) The World Almanac for 1924 includes many of these states under the 14th Census.

TALE VIII.[1])

Statistics of Finns in America in 1922.

Michigan	87,000	Utah	1,500
Minnesota	64,000	Florida	1,000
Massachusetts	26,000	Texas	900
New York	23,000	Delaware	800
Washington	18,000	Maryland	800
Ohio	17,000	Alabama	600
Wisconsin	14,000	Louisiana	600
Oregon	13,000	Mississippi	500
Montana	12,000	Rhode Island	500
California	10,000	Washington, D.C.	400
North Dakota	8,000	Nevada	300
Pennsylvania	7,000	Iowa	250
Illinois	6,000	New Mexico	250
Maine	4,000	Kansas	200
New Hampshire	4,000	Virginia	200
New Jersey	3,500	North Carolina	200
Alaska	3,000	Nebraska	150
Connecticut	2,800	Arkansas	150
Idaho	2,000	Georgia	100
Colorado	2,000	Tennessee	100
Wyoming	2,000	Kentucky	100
Vermont	2,000	South Carolina	100
Arizona	1,500	Missouri	100
Indiana	1,500	Oklahoma	50
West Virginia	1,500		
		Grand Total	352,550

1) "Kirkollinen Kalenteri" v. 1922, S. Ilmonen. These figures include both immigrants and those born in America.

The above figures have been estimated on the basis of very intimate knowledge of the life of the Finns in America. We admit that they are estimates to a large extent but they come close to the truth, in fact, closer in our opinion than any other figures published.

It will be seen from the above statistical tables that there is a great discrepancy between the grand totals given by each. How are we to harmonize these differences? In the first place we notice that the figures given by the 14th Census of the United States make the number of Finns born in Finland about 12,000 less than the number we had established mainly on the basis of the official reports of Finland. One reason is that the census reporters of our country may have been somewhat negligent in determining accurately the facts pertaining to the racial information, especially in case of groups not well known in a given territory, inability of the foreigners to speak English adding to the difficulty of their work. But how account for the large number estimated by the Rev. S. Ilmonen? We shall try to establish the truth of his statements in the light of certain facts to be noticed in this connection, and thus add a further reason for the apparent discrepancy.

The number of Finns in America has always been put at a somewhat smaller figure than facts would

warrant, and this for two reasons. The first Finns came from Norway, but they have been numbered among the Norwegians. Several thousand have followed them, but they have fallen in the same class. Then, again, several thousand have come from Sweden—there are large towns in the northern part of Sweden where Finns compose the majority of the population—but these immigrants have been grouped as Swedes. I believe that we can add some 40,000 Finns to the total number found in America for this reason. In large Finnish centers in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and farming communities of Minnesota, this class of Finns composes about one-fourth of the total number. Thus the total number of foreign-born Finns in America in 1920 would be brought up to 201,357. Since 1918 immigration from Finland has been comparatively small. We may estimate it on facts well established to have yielded us a gain of about 2,000 per year, or 8,000 since 1918. The balance remaining, or 142,643, is to be accounted for under the group classified as American born.

In 1910 there were already 81,357 Finns born in America according to the government census, this subtracted from 142,643, leaves a balance of 61,286, which is to be counted as representing the number of Finns born in America between the years of 1910—1920. Figuring on the basis of the total Finnish population in America in 1910, this would

mean a birthrate of about 28 per 1000 for the ten year period; but this percentage need not actually be so large, for during this time the number of foreign-born Finns was increased by some 20,000 and among them there were naturally many births to be counted in the census of 1920. It is a known fact that the Finns have a large birthrate, standing among the first races in Europe in this respect.[1]) (The writer is acquainted with a Finnish family in Detroit that has 21 children, and all are living. Of course this is an exceptional case, but it is very illustrative of our statement). A further fact which lends weight to this belief is that the majority of the immigrants coming to America are between the ages of 20—30 years, among whom the rate of increase is high. And this increase, further, need not be counted as actually taking place between the years 1910—1920, for the addition of Finns from Norway and Sweden must be placed mostly in the earlier period of Finnish immigration. Thus the number of American born Finns was actually larger in 1910 than the United States government statistics would show.

On the basis of the facts which we have studied—perhaps at even too great a length, but considering the wide variance of opinion concerning this question, we felt it worth while to go into it more

1) See Enc. Brit., Volume XXII, p. 100.

thoroughly—we are inclined to believe with the Rev. Ilmonen that the figure 352,000 represents more exactly the total number of Finns in America today.[1])

1) Since the above paragraphs were written, I was able to get later figures from the Congressional Library through the kindness of my friend Congressman W. Frank James, and these figures corroborate in general the conclusion reached above. The total number of Finns in America in 1920, according to the later government compilations, is 296,276. In this number are not included the Finns who have come from Norway and Sweden. Of this number 150,770 (previously reported 149,824) are foreign born, and 145,506 are native born. In 1910 the number of native born Finns was 81,357 and in 1920 145,506, the increase within the ten-year period being 64,149. I had established the number of native born Finnish population in 1920 as 142,643, and the number of increase as 61,286. My estimates were, therefore, somewhat too small. If we add to the total number of Finns, as given by the U. S. Census reports of 1920, those who have come from Norway and Sweden and those who have arrived since the last census was taken, we can conclude that the figure 352,000 ean be accepted as substantially correct. (See The Bulletin of the Department of Commerce, "Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1920, Country of Origin of the Foreign White Stock".)

CHAPTER V.

DISTRIBUTION AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE FINNS.

Table No. VII shows the distribution of the Finns in general, but a word or two is needed as an explanation of this fact. We find the greatest numbers inhabiting the northern states of our country. They are most numerous in Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New York, Washington, Oregon, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The reason for their congregating in these states is not very difficult to find. Any student of the immigration question knows that immigrants are to be found mostly in the industrial centers, or where there is most demand for unskilled labor. The first Finns came to the "so-called" Copper Country of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan because they had been imported by one of the large mining companies operating there.[1]) When the first Finns were settled there, they called others of their friends and relatives. Thus the Finn, who had never been a miner in his native country, became a miner in America, which occupation he has followed ever since.

1) Van Cleef, the Finn in America, p. 5, and others.

I do not agree with many writers on Finnish immigration that he settled in the barren, cold, marshy sections of our northern states because he was drawn there by climatic similarity with the old country. Similarity does exist, but the Finn knows it himself that it is not an ideal climate for farming or living in general. But why didn't he settle in Iowa, or Illinois, or Ohio or in some other fertile section of the United States? The immigrant knows from solid facts of reality that he has no chance there without means. Homesteads were not to be procured in them any longer when he came. The only chance he had was to stick to any kind of a job until he had saved enough to feel independent. But by this time he had become acquainted with his work and the surroundings; others followed him, and in a short time there was a large community of his countrymen about him. If he now thought of settling on a farm, he didn't have money enough to buy one in a valuable farming section, neither was he acquainted with such places. The thing for him to do was to buy a farm in some neighborhood where other Finns had settled before him, or take a homestead in some far away unsettled region in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota or some other northern state. This is the main reason why the Finns have settled so largely in the colder and unfertile sections of the United States. It has been the

course of least resistance, although it has put him fighting against unknown difficulties and severities of the inclement forces of nature.

The Finns in the mines.. We shall consider this occupation first because it was the first occupation the Finn was engaged in on coming to America. In Finland mining does not exist as we know of it in America. No doubt, there are mineral deposits there, but they have not been developed as yet. Yet the first comers to America were led into this occupation, as we have pointed out before. As he was an industrious and hard worker, he made good, and has ever since been known as a miner of the first rank. From the copper mines of Houghton and Keweenaw Counties many found their way to the iron districts in Marquette County, that were just opening about this time. Later we find them coming to the large iron district known as the Gogebic Range. The iron mines in northern Minnesota were opened up considerably later than in Michigan. By that time the Finn had become recognized as a good miner, and found, therefore, no difficulty in getting work on the Vermillion and Mesaba Ranges of Minnesota. The mines developed very fast in this section, being mostly open-pit mines from which ore could be dug up very easily. More Finns kept coming right along, until at the present time there are nearly as many Finns in Minnesota as in Michigan. Large numbers

are also to be found as farmers, but we come to them later.

On the Finn as a miner, we shall let Van Cleef pass judgment. He says: "In efficiency in the mines the Finns rank close to the top. They make good timbermen in the underground mines, for they are reputed 'clever and ingenious with axe and log'. Herein one may see the result of their many centuries of training in the forests of their native land. Their struggle with nature has also developed much resourcefulness. The younger Finns coming to this country show a considerable proficiency along mechanical lines. Some of them are employed in handling drills and other machinery requiring dexterity.

"The physical strength of the Finn contributes to his ability to endure the strains incident to mining. The work is hard, and the winter long and rigorous. Where the open-pit process is used, employment does not last throughout the year. Hence many workers must find something else to engage in during the closed season. The relative isolation of the region makes travel to other industrial centers rather expensive. Therefore adjustment is made to practically the only alternative, *logging*. Hundreds of Finns go to the woods to labor in the deep snow and in temperatures ranging from -15 to -30 degrees F. Their life is camp life, but not after their own

choosing. It oftentimes is next to intolerable. Yet doggedness, a sense of responsibility, and unusual powers of endurance, enable them to remain throughout the season. They have had vigorous training in the 'land of a thousand lakes' and the land of as many hardships." This is related of the Finns in Minnesota but it applies in general to them in other mining regions as well.

Besides the iron and copper mines, Finns are also found employed in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Illinois. Some have entered mining fields in Colorado, Arizona, Alaska, and other places, so that it is not a rare thing to find a Finn almost anywhere.

The Finn as a farmer. Over 50% of the Finns have come from agricultural life so that it is not surprising if we find their steps leading back to farm life even in America. "If I could only get about forty acres of land, I could live more comfortably and happy on a farm. That is an ideal place to bring up your family; and then if a man should be sick, his pay-roll would not be affected by it right away; and a farmer is independent and free." Thoughts like these are often expressed by men living in towns or cities. It seems to be quite a general desire to settle on a farm sometime, and hundreds are realizing this hope every year.

After laboring in a mine or at some other work for a few years, until he has saved enough to give him a stingy start, he buys land, from 40—120 acres, and takes up his cherished occupation. He generally secures a cut-over strip of land in Michigan, files a homestead in Minnesota, or purchases an old farm in western New York, Connecticut, or elsewhere. The stumpy land looks very forlorn and challenging. But the Finn settles down to work and clears acre after acre, although compelled to leave his home many a time to work in the mines or the woods during the winter months in order to earn means of subsistence for himself and his family. For this reason Mr. J. H. Jasberg, land agent of the D. S. S. & A. R. R., who has sold more land to the Finns than any other man in America, said that the only language the stumps understand in Upper Michigan, is the Finnish language.

We have already pointed out in connection with our study of immigration that some Finns settled in Franklin, Holmes City, and Cokato, Minnesota, as early as 1864 and 1865. These communities are still inhabited by a large number of this nationality, who have become properous and live contented lives. Others settled in Ottertail County, Minnesota, where they are found in very large numbers in New York Mills, and in several places in Wadena County. New York Mills is perhaps the

second largest Finnish settlement in the United States. The Dakotas also have settlements of considerable size, for example, Savo and Poinsett in South Dakota, and Brockett, Ellendale, and others in North Dakota. Farming is done here on a large scale with the use of all modern improvements. About 90% of the farms in St. Louis County, Minnesota, are owned by Finns, and nearly the same percentage in Houghton, Baraga, and Alger Counties in Michigan. These people have first worked in the iron mines on the Mesaba and Vermillion Ranges or in the copper or iron mines of Michigan, but their "objective in America is not residence in the industrial centers, where the permanence of home is not all too certain, but rather upon the land, where their future is entirely a factor of their own direction and where they may commune with nature." Furthermore, the environment of these regions reminds him of Finland. The glacial lakes, the boulder-strewn surface, the numerous elongate hills, the woods of graceful white-barked birches or stately spired evergreens and the deep winter snows "are just like home." "The urge, in this environment, to do what he did at home, is too strong to resist and at the first opportunity he turns to the land."[1])

Prosperous farming communities are also found in Rudyard, Chippewa County, and Kaleva, Mannis-

1) Scientific Monthly, May, 1923, p. 499.

tee County, Michigan, where the Finns formed colonies about twenty years ago. They had first worked as miners in different places, and when they settled on land it was a surprise to their American neighbors to see these people, who had become known as first class miners, take up farming and make a success of it. They were not only handy in tilling the soil, but they built their own homes, shod their horses, and showed skill in many different kinds of manual labor. Prof.Van Cleef of the Ohio State University says that "the Finn is thrifty and independent. Both of these qualities are the consequence of his life upon the farm in his native country where isolation and the struggle against the odds of nature challenge the strongest and bravest of men. He has consequently developed a penchant for work, a tenacity of purpose, and a skill in farm management which may well be the envy of the peer of America's best farmers".[1])

He has gained many friends as he has become known as an honest and industrious tiller of the soil. The former Agricultural Commissioner of Michigan is an intimate friend of the Finnish farmer. It was during his superintendency of Portage Township schools that the first agricultural school in Michigan in connection with elementary education was organized at Tapiola—"the abode of the bears" —Houghton County, Mich. The school is now known

1) The Scientific Monthly, May, 1923.

as John A. Doelle's Agricultural School, in recognition of his service for that community. The plan has proved so beneficial that since that time a law has been passed permitting the organization of such schools, and 73 similar schools have now been organized in Michigan.

Besides the states named, Finns are found as farmers in Oregon and Washington, along the Columbia valley and other places in these states, also in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Maine. Some are further found in Texas, Alabama, Florida, and southern California. Their number in these states, however, is not very large, and signs seem to indicate no noticeable growth there, due to climatic conditions and other handicaps. Some twenty years ago a considerable number located in Alabama, on the Mobile Bay, but the rise of tidal waves which flood the country at times, causing much destruction of property and loss of life, drove most of them back. This emphasizes the need of dikes to keep the water from causing havoc along the Gulf border in general. Such an undertaking would be a task possible only for our government.

Particular mention must yet be made of the Finnish farmers in New England. It has become very noticeable that throughout the East, in the old farming communities of New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, many farms have not been under cul-

tivation for the last five to fifteen years. They are generally known as "abandoned" or "rundown" farms. Prof. Van Cleef remarks that "these farms have been in a state of abandoned cultivation because the struggle has been too severe for the Yankee farmer or he has not been able to solve the problem of how to farm those particular pieces of land. Now enters the Finn who boldly, slowly, methodically and laboriously begins to rehabilitate these farms and to succeed where his predecessors have failed. He purchases a cow, some chickens and a horse, if funds permit. The first two items give him a substantial food supply in the form of milk, butter, eggs and even chickenmeat occasionally, while the third offers power and transportation. He clears away a few of the almost innumerable boulders, cuts off a portion of the dense second growth vegetation to make room for hay and enough of truck garden products for his own use, and drains a portion of the land. Tree stumps give him no particular concern at first, for he just cultivates around the stumps. In the course of time, and for the Finn time accomplishes much, all the land will be cleared, drained and under the plow."

He relates that in the spring of 1922 nearly 100 Finnish farmers marketed about 100,000 quarts of strawberries in Worcester County. This is a record that commands the careful consideration of every

native New Englander, he says. These were run-down lands and also, in part, new lands which the farm bureaus of the state regarded as profitable only for the growth of pine. He concludes with enthusiastic praise of this stranger. "He knows how to solve just such problems as the lands of Massachusetts present and is demonstrating without the peradventure of a doubt that what the New Englander says can not be done, agriculturally, can be done. The Finn is a New Pilgrim come to New England to play a new role. He is increasing land values, increasing the food supply, and establishing permanent homes where the best of citizenship develops. He is doing all this with essentially no encouragement from the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the face of much discouragement."[1])

The 14th Census of the United States gives the number of Finns on farms as being 14,988, or fourteenth in the rank of nationalities. But it must be remembered in this connection that he is a rather late comer. In Michigan there are 3,947 Finns on farms, in Minnesota 4,703, and in Wisconsin 1,433. He ranks in proportion of numbers, third in Michigan, fourth in Minnesota, and eighth in Wisconsin. Names of communities in this northwest section, like Liminka, Toivola, Kyro, Uusi Suomi, Kaleva, etc., bear witness to the fact that Finns have found-

1) The Scientific Monthly, May, 1923.

ed these communities. In this they have only followed the custom established by the earlier arrivals in America, who named many of their towns after their native cities and communities.

Other occupations. We have already incidentally referred to the fact that the Finns are found as *loggers* and *lumbermen* in Michigan and Minnesota. Formerly, when the Lower Peninsula of Michigan was thickly covered with timber and logging was common, Finns were found working in the woods around Muskegon, Ludington, Mannistee, Cadillac, and other towns. Later we find them in the saw-mill towns of the Upper Peninsula, in Dollarville, Michigamme, Baraga, Foster City, to mention only a few, working in the saw-mills during the summer months, and with the approach of winter, when lakes and rivers freeze over, moving to the logging camps. Hundreds of Finnish woodsmen have also been employed for years by large mining companies in Michigan in cutting hardwood for their charcoal kilns. The writer has visited many of these camps in Chippewa, Alger, and Marquette Counties, where large camps were operated. It was no task for two men to cut and pile ten cords of hardwood daily. About forty years ago, when large forests of native timber were found in Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, contractors employed mostly Finnish workmen. And often there were found near to these log-

ging operations Finnish blacksmiths who made axes, sledges, and wedges for the woodsmen. A great many Finnish loggers are also found today in the lumber camps of the far west, or in the saw-mills where the logs are sawed up into suitable building material.

That such work is often beset with hardships and most trying severities, can readily be understood. The men must live in isolation from the rest of the world for months at a time laboring in deep snow and in temperatures ranging often from -15° to -30° F. As noted before, Van Cleef says, "Their life is camp life, but not after their own choosing. It oftentimes is next to intolerable. Yet doggedness, a sense of responsibility, unusual powers of endurance, enable them to remain throughout the season". And the same writer credits them with being "the most thrifty of all nationalities represented in the mines and lumber camps."[1])

Of the New England Finns, The Scientific Monthly says that the earliest immigrants found their way out of Boston to Cape Ann, where they were given steady employment in the granite *quarries*. Later, the quarries of Quincy and Fitchburg attracted many, while the lumber industry in other parts of New England lured some. After this they turned to the *textile mills, chair factories* and other industries

1) The Finn in America, Van Cleef.

which offered immediate work and quick cash returns. That even here they have earned a name for themselves as hard workers is substantiated by the judgment passed in the article referred to. We read: "Managers of industrial plants are loath to see the Finns move landward. They commend them as among their best workers and not infrequently make part-time arrangements which permit them during the early development of their farms to spend a portion of their time in the factory. Such an arrangement is mutually advantageous, for while giving the employer the benefit of Finnish labor it enables the Finns to secure some ready cash so essential while waiting for the first crop to mature. The Finn's mechanical skill has evolved for much the same reason as did that of the Yankee farmer of fifty years ago. The isolated farmer can not call in a plumber, a carpenter, a blacksmith, or other specialist, but must be Jack-of-all-trades. So it is, that when the Finn enters a factory without previous experience in the particular industry, 'he learns quickly'. He soon becomes expert. He thereby develops a double value to the community, on the one hand as an efficient factory employee, oftentimes excelling all other nationalities, and on the other hand as a superior tiller of the soil".

The writer has himself had occasion to hear similar comments passed by large employers of Finns

in Worcester, Gardner, and other towns in Massachusetts.

If we follow the Finn to Ohio, Pensylvania, and Illinois, we find him working in *steel* and *tin plate mills*. All along the Mahoning River valley in Ohio and along the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania, we find hundreds and hundreds of smokestacks belching forth smoke and fire from their mouths. This is the center of our great steel industry. Here we find thousands of Finns co-operating in the process of manufacturing this important material in our civilized life. Others are found employed in the steel mills of Waukegan, De Kalb, and Joliet, Illinois, or in Gary, Indiana, or in other steel centers of our country. Earlier than the steel workers in Ohio and Pennsylvania, however, should be named the *dock* and *longshoremen* in the harbors of Ohio, Fairport, Ashtabula Harbor, Conneaut, and other places. The first Finnish immigrants to this region found work loading and unloading boats, and even today many of them are still engaged in similar work. The work was then done without the aid of modern machinery, and required strength and endurance. But the Finn is never afraid of work. It seems to be true concerning him, as J. H. Jasberg, the noted Finnish humorist,—and humorists among Finns are rare—says, that when the Finn arrives in America, he does not undertake to peddle needles and buttons, nor sell

bananas on our city streets, but seeks for "the hardest job and biggest pay."

The life of these early Ohio Finns, as well as of those found in mining towns and lumber camps in other states, was often of an intemperate and rough character. The reason for this is to be found partly in that, homesick among strangers, with no social life in which he could participate, his only recourse was to drinking, which often resulted in fights and disorder, and partly to the open saloon, which preyed on these friendless strangers. The Finn is by nature, however, sober and loves temperance. His country was the first civilized nation that voted for prohibition, and at the present time national prohibition exists in Finland. Prof. L. A. Chase, in his "Rural Michigan," says: "Normally the Finn was temperate even before the adoption of prohibition, contrary to common opinion, as was shown by his vote in favor of constitutional prohibition. In the Copper Country, for example, mining locations with a large Finnish element, and certain rural precincts almost wholly Finnish in composition, were overwhelmingly in favor of the prohibitory amendment, leaving it to urban constituencies of definite American and aristocratic tendencies to tip the balance to the contrary side.[1]) We come later to this subject under the discussion of the cultural life of the Finns.

1) P. 167.

One of the more recent vocational lines entered by a large number of Finns is the *automobile industry*. Wherever this "horseless wagon" is made, be it a "flivver" or a limousine, there Finns are found, all the way from common laborers to inspectors, skilled mechanics to draftsmen. And it may be added that he appears to be just as quick as the rest of his neighbors in providing himself with one of these modern "necessities". He not only makes "cars", but he makes them to ride in; he not only earns good money, but he earns it to spend here.

It would be useless to try to enumerate all the occupational divisions in which Finns are found, but a few of the remaining fields may be mentioned. In Astoria, Oregon, we find them *fishing* on the Columbia River; and one of the largest canning factories of that city is owned by them. Among the various trades throughout the country, we find a comparatively large number of Finnish representatives. It has been estimated, for example, that during the World War about twenty-five thousand of them worked in *shipyards* where they were in great demand.[1]) The American-Scandinavian Review judges them to have been "among the most valuable workers in our shipyards". In nearly all Finnish centers they enter *commercial life* in ever-increasing numbers, and although we can't say that they have

1) See "Koti-Home", magazine, March 1923, p. 13.

accomplished anything very great as yet, many of them have succeeded as merchants, or jewelers, or wholesalers, etc. Many prominent and well-to-do businessmen might be named among them, for example, in Duluth, Minnesota, and in Houghton County towns in Michigan. A Finnish Businessmen's Association was established a few years ago in the Lake Superior region by some professional and business men of this section. The aim of this organization seems to be "to establish better means of assimilation between the native born and his brother business men of foreign birth." It further aims to promote an understanding of business conditions in Finland and America, and thus endeavors to establish trade relations between the two countries.

Of special interest in this connection are the *co-operative* organizations found amongst these people. They have had marked success especially with their cooperative creameries in Minnesota, and also in promoting cooperative methods among farmers in general. Professor Chase says that the co-operative spirit is very notable among Finnish farmers. "If a farmer loses a horse or a cow, it has been observed, his neighbors make up a contribution that compensates the loss of the animal. They are mutually very helpful in time of trouble. Cooperative business enterprises are common among them." He gives as a further example the little Finnish settlement at

Rock in Delta County, where a cooperative store, flourmill, creamery, insurance society, and pure-bred bull association have been established. Similar examples are not wanting elsewhere. Perky, in an article, entitled: "Cooperation in the United States", also speaks of the cooperative organizations of the Finns. The cooperative movement is something the Finns found developed to a considerable degree in their native land and was brought over from there. "The Republic of Finland Survey" says that it is one of the most important factors in the general development of commercial life in Finland, and that it has grown very fast. In 1901 the first cooperative society was founded, and since that time their number has increased to 2,988.[1])

For the sake of comparison we add here a statistical table showing the occupations of the immigrants from Finland between the years 1901—1905. They belonged to the various occupational groups as the following table shows.

1) See pp. 18, 19.

TABLE IX.[1])

1. Farm workers 55,030, about 70%
2. Laborers and unskilled laborers 10,447, about 13%
3. Servants (women) 4,814, over 6%
4. Skilled laborers 4,539, over 5%
5. Merchants, sea-captains and sailors 2,461, over 3%
6. Industrial workers 1,241, over 1%
7. Professional men 1,715, over 2%
8. Unclassified occupations 809, about 1%

This shows that about 70% had been working on farms, and about 13% were unskilled laborers. In America the largest proportion of them are still in the group of unskilled laborers, while the 14th Census found about 15,000 of them on farms. We are unable to give any estimate as to the number of professional men among them in America or of those employed as industrial or skilled workers. But considering the difficulties an immigrant has to contend with in a strange land, and the handicaps he has to overcome because of ignorance of the vernacular of the land, it takes him some time to forge ahead. That he is, however, doing this to an encouraging degree, we have no reason to doubt, thanks to our democratic social system of open classes and to his own physical and mental capacities.

[1]) From the Social-Economic Magazine of Finland, 1905, p. 14.

We see a hopeful sign in the occupational evolution of the Finnish immigrant in America. When thousands of people are leaving rural communities to take up their residence in our rapidly developing cities, the Finn is one of the very few nationalities that has his look directed landward. This problem is a serious one, not only in America, but as pointed out earlier in the suggestion of Professor Kilpi, in most of the European countries, where they are passing through a change from agricultural to industrial conditions. In 1860 the city population numbered 18% of the total population of the United States; in 1910 we still had 54% in rural communities, but in 1920 the majority of the population, viz. 52%, lived in cities. This is, indeed, a serious sociological problem. But the Finn is an exception to this rule. As we have already pointed out, his ambition is to get a farm for himself. According to the United States statistics more than 54% of the Finns live in rural communities, but their previous occupational experience and natural love for open-air life should increase this percentage considerably in the future. Prof. Van Cleef, whom we have quoted freely, says that this phenomenon "is rather noticeable for only immigrants from Norway, Denmark, Luxemburg, and Mexico show a similar tendency."[1])

1) Op. cit., p. 3.

"One of the greatest enemies to the sincere and efficacious process of Americanization is urbanism", says a writer in a recent magazine article. "When the solution of the grave problem directly connected with the 'digestion' of the foreign masses who at present congregate in the large cities, instead of scattering themselves throughout the country, is solved, the problem of Americanization will be more than half solved. The over-crowding of the large cities by foreigners is an evil to the foreigners, but it is a greater evil to the nation. The farmer, on the other hand, is a worker and a creator at the same time, and he makes the objects which he handles; the fertility of the soil is as much created by him as by the generosity of nature. He builds houses, plants trees, and establishes firesides and families. He naturalizes himself before asking for his citizenship papers, and he becomes an active element in the formation of the general wealth of the nation."

Some have argued that immigrants have a tendency to form communities whose members "are associated together by a common origin, by religious affiliations, or by a common language and national relationship", thus constituting foreign communities in our midst. "Perhaps this is true", writes Prof. Chase, "but surely the presence of people in the same locality, kindred in speech, religious connection, economic and social status, has encouraged and com-

forted the members of the group in their new and strange situation and rendered them less ready to leave their rural homes for urban life".[1]) And we may add that although such communities do exist among the Finns, they are comparatively new. Then, again, the Americanization is not a matter of revolutionary methods, but of gradual growth and assimilation; and the older Finnish communities prove that this process is taking place with comparative speed.

The Finns are now found mainly engaged in menial occupations, but this does not mean that they lack capacity for higher vocations and callings in life, as one school teacher once stated to the writer. On the contrary they show marked ability in various professions and artistic careers, when given opportunity for development. Many immigrants have already risen to distinguished positions. A Finnish man has held a professorship in The Chicago Art Institute for a number of years; and the writer met with a happy surprise a few years ago, when enrolling as a student in a Greek class at the University of Chicago, by meeting a Finn there. The professor in charge of the course asked a few informal questions of the writer concerning his previous work in Greek, which soon revealed the fact that they had both been born in Finland, he having come to America with

1) Rural Michigan, p. 179.

his parents when he was only four years old. As further illustrations, the names of two Finns may be added, who have received very distinguished honors in America recently. One is Bruno V. Nordberg, the President and Chief Engineer of the Nordberg Manufacturing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. On conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering, in behalf of the University of Michigan, President M. L. Burton characterized him as "a great builder of engines and an inventor of the highest scientific attainment." The other man, we have reference to, is Professor Eliel Saarinen, who has attracted considerable attention in the architectural world since his success in winning the second prize in The Chicago Tribune Building international contest. His design was pronounced the best by many of the foremost architects in America. He has now been honored with a call as a visiting professor of architectural design by the University of Michigan.

We close this chapter with a quotation from Prof. Van Cleef, for it applies in principle to all the Finns in America. He writes, "It will be worth while to look at the other side of the shield and note what sort of leadership has developed among them (Finns). The last mayor of Eveleth, Minnesota, a city of about 8,000 inhabitants, was a Finn. He is a young man possessed of an aggressive spirit and of

excellent business ability. He offers an example that seems to discount the common assertion that the Finn has no capacity for business affairs. The chief of detectives of Duluth stands as another splendid example of young Finnish leadership. The medical field has its quota of Finns who rank high, and the legal profession is worthily represented. Many school teachers in the county are Finns. They rank among the best in the state, and some have made scholarship records in the normal schools that might well be envied by their non-Finnish classmates."[1])

1) Op. cit., pp. 29, 30.

CHAPTER VI.

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE FINNS.

a) *School.*

The educational system in Finland has become well established, both in the Elementary and Secondary schools. The church has been a great factor in the early education of the people here as in other Protestant countries. According to the belief of the religious leaders it was necessary for every individual to be able to read the Word of God and thus understand the fundamentals of Christianity. Instruction was first given at home, and general public examinations, known as "kinkerit" (might be originated from Kinderlehre, German, through the Swedish), were held yearly, where the youth, and also the older people, were examined as to their ability to read and understand the Christian doctrines. It is interesting to note in this connection, that every person who wished to be married, first had to satisfy the minister that he was able to read; this insured intelligent parentage in the country. This explains the fact why the percentage of illiteracy in Finland is so small. At present it is below one per

cent (7/10 of 1%), while in America, due to our southern population and certain classes of immigrants, the percentage of illiteracy is nearly 10%. Very few countries excel Finland in this respect.

In comparing the number of illiterates found in Finland with those in other countries, it is necessary to explain that in the statistics of Finland, illiteracy is defined as including those persons that are not able to read. It does not consider those who are unable to write. In the United States, however, we class as illiterates those who are able neither to read nor write. This would raise the number of illiterates in Finland to some extent, for a few persons are found among the older generation who cannot write although they are able to read. This is understood more readily when we remember that the public school system was organized in Finland as late as 1866. This fact does not, however, materially change the general truth, and we can say that Finland stands among the first countries in Europe in the degree of literacy found among its people.[1])

Many facts could be given in proof of these foregoing statements, but we shall point out only two that have come to our attention recently. The first comes from the Honorable Charles L. Kagey, United States' minister to Finland, our first minister to the

1) Republic of Finland, Govt. Publication.

new Republic. He has just recently returned to America for a brief vacation. On being interviewed by the reporter of the "Daily Call", published in Beloit, Kansas, he made some very interesting statements concerning the country, the people, and their educational system. On being asked concerning the educational standard of the country, he said that "the ability to read is wonderfully high there, and in general I have been assured that 98 out of every hundred persons are able to read and write. Finland has an educational system covering the whole country, and several colleges and universities which rank among the best in the world."

The other statement comes from a man who is well versed in international affairs, namely, Francis E. Clark, the founder of the Christian Endeavor League. He wrote an article in the Christian Herald, New York, in Sept. 1920, in which he paid tribute not only to the high intelligence of the people in general, but to their great physical agility and endurance, as exemplified within the last few years by their achievements in international games and contests, like the Olympics in Antwerp a few years ago. As we remember, the Finns broke several world records and won the second place, the United States being first. We shall come back later to the subject of athletics.

The majority of the young men and women coming to America from Finland, have had at least an elementary school education. — The Finnish "Kansakoulu", public school, comprises, in the writer's estimation, a year or two of high school work, with such subjects as practical geometry, general history, and manual training. Many have attended higher institutions of learning. Finland was the first country to organize manual training as a part of its school instruction, for as early as 1858, Uno Cygnaeus outlined a course for manual training involving bench and metal work, wood-carving, and basketweaving. In 1866 this work was made compulsory for boys in all rural schools.[1]) So when the Finn comes to America, and finds public schools in the community in which he locates, he is glad to send his children there. Compulsory education laws do not bother him, for he has been used to them in Finland. In general it may be said that school authorities do not have any more trouble in compelling Finnish children to attend school than they have in compelling those of other nationalities.

Having given this brief background of the educational standards of the Finns, we shall now try to point out a few facts from their actual life in America.

1) See History of Education, Cubberly, p. 769.

Public School. The following table is from the Hancock Public School records. It shows the total number of children enrolled, and the number and percentage of Finnish children.

TABLE X.[1])

Year	Total No. of Ch.	Finnish Ch.	Per cent of Finnish Ch.
1911	1,329	458	34.4
1912	1,389	508	36.5
1913	1,415	546	38.5
1914	1,580	631	39.9
1915	1,477	691	46.7
1916	1,476	796	53.9

The above table shows that the number of Finnish children in the public schools at Hancock has steadily increased. The same thing is true of other communities where the Finns are numerous, e. g. Calumet, Ishpeming, Negaunee, Ironwood, and Wakefield in Michigan, and in Virginia, Eveleth, Hibbing, Chisholm, Ely, and other towns in Minnesota, Astoria, Oregon, Ashtabula Harbor, and Fairport in Ohio. The number of Finnish high school graduates is increasing yearly. In some of the Michigan high schools the number of Finnish graduates last summer was as high as 40% of the total. This shows that the older members of the race have become

1) Americanization of the Finnish People in Houghton County, Clemens Niemi, p. 40.

established financially, and are able to give their children a better education. But even then it is a sacrifice for the parents of large families, with comparatively small incomes. It can be said with credit, that when a common laborer sees five of his children through high school, as the writer knows some Finnish families have done, it certainly shows appreciation of education. And yet the fathers and the mothers of such families have often themselves had very little or no schooling.

A very high tribute is paid to the Finnish public school children by one of the best known educators and schoolmen in Michigan, a man who has had wide experience as a school administrator with Finnish children. We refer to Supt. Fred A. Jeffers, of Painesdale, a member of The State Board of Education in Michigan. He writes:

"For nearly a third of a century I have known children of Finnish parentage as in large numbers they have come under my observation and supervision in the public schools. The great majority of them have been industrious and intelligent to a high degree. Many of them have ranked among our best pupils in deportment and scholarship. They have not created any special problems of instruction and discipline due to their particular origin, but on the contrary most of them in very short time after beginning school attendance have seemed decidedly

American in every aspect of their school life. Very few of them have made any trouble in matters of behavior, reflecting in that respect, doubtless, the excellent training of sensible parents in good homes. They have been not only good pupils in elementary and high school, but many have continued their studies in higher institutions and have become strong and able teachers. It may be emphatically stated that the American school children of Finnish origin have made a creditable record of achievement in our schools, and thus in large and increasing measure are making a fine contribution to American citizenship.

Through the Finnish immigrants and their children the star of the little republic of the far north mingles its gleam with the stars of the great republic of the west and the pathway of America's civilization is better illumined thereby".

Prof. Van Cleef writes on this question, concerning the Finns in Minnesota, that the Finn demonstrates his desire for mental growth by the attendance of his children in the public schools and his own attendance at night schools. "The Finns demand schools no matter how remote they may be. The daily attendance record of their children is very high," says the St. Louis County superintendent of Schools. In a town on the Mesabi Range, where the Finn constitutes only about one-tenth of the

population, the superintendent of schools reports that he is the backbone of the night school. Out of a total attendance of 900 over 500 were Finns.[1])

We quote another man who has had considerable experience with Finnish children in his capacity as high school principal and, later, as county superintendent of the schools of Gogebic County, Michigan; we refer to John C. Watson. Meeting Finnish children for the first time as they came to enroll in the high school of Ironwood, most of them coming from rural schools, he had misgivings as to the ability of these timid and apparently stolid looking children, but the superintendent, who had been in charge for several years, corrected him, saying: "Oh, they are all right. They become good students when they get over their bashfulness." After twelve year of principalship in that school, he writes: "During my twelve years as principal, *five of the valedictorians were of Finnish parentage*, two of whom were from the country districts. So you see I cannot be blamed if I have lost quite a little confidence in the accuracy of my first impressions. Of those who stood among the one-third highest in the graduating classes, the Finnish graduates always had more than their share in proportion to those taking part in the declamatory contests — thus becoming our representatives in contests with other high schools. Many of the best

1) The Finn in America, p. 23.

performers in the vocal and instrumental music organizations were of that nationality. They were not selected through favoritism either. But it was in the field of dramatics that their work was the most commendable.—When we presented Officer 666, the part of the young millionaire was taken by Oscar Ketola. Surely I have never seen a better piece of acting on the amateur stage."[1])

Modern study of sociology has proved that there is very little difference in the intelligence of different races, given the same opportunities for development. The Finnish boy or girl has generally showed up in a very satisfactory way. Many among them show exceptional ability, it being not an uncommon thing to have a Finnish boy or girl deliver the valedictory at a high school commensement. We could name schools from our personal knowledge where Finnish students have attained the highest records in the history of the schools. There are no records to show in what subjects Finnish children show most talent, but it is our experience that different students show aptitudes for different subjects. Some may excel in mathematics, some again in history or languages, and still others in natural sciences, or in music and the fine arts. The Finnish race has inherited a special love for music and poetry, as their

1) "Koti-Home", No. 6, 1922.

national epic "Kalevala" and the "Kanteletar" well prove.

Evening Schools. In most of the communities, in which Finns have lived, *evening schools* have not existed until within the last few years. But they have organized such schools themselves in connection with their Temperance Societies or other organizations. The writer has himself been a teacher in such schools in various places where he has lived. Most of the larger Finnish communities have had their evening schools, although many of them have been in existence only for a year or two during the winter months. These difficulties have been encountered: students have found the learning of English too hard for the time they could give to it, and there has been a shortage of suitable teachers. But with the high schools and other agencies, e. g. Americanization organizations, Speak-English Clubs in St. Louis County, Minnesota, going into this work within the last few years, many of these difficulties have been overcome.

Is it easy for a Finn to learn English? For those who come to America very young it offers no difficulties. He is able to learn English quite easily, and this in spite of the fact that he has learned his mother tongue first. The two languages are so different that there is no possibility of mixing the two. But it must be admitted, as is well known from the

study of languages in general, that the idioms of one language affect the use of another language at times. One thinks in the idioms of a certain language and translates these into another, thus bringing strange constructions into the language which is not his native tongue. Those who have come as immigrants at a later age, say about the age of 17 or 18 years, find it difficult to learn English perfectly. The Finnish language lacks such sounds as wh, th, sh, ch, and a mistake is quite often made in pronouncing words like "which", "there", "share", "church" etc. The distinction between the letters b and p, t and d, also causes some confusion, for Finnish has only the p and t letters; while b is found only in words of foreign origin, and d never stands at the beginning of a word. Of the pronunciation of English words, it might be said in general that they offer infinite difficulties to immigrants whose language happens to be phonetic, as the Finnish is. We are not, however, arguing for the phonetic spelling in English for the sake of the Finn, unless other weightier reasons are found for introducing the change.

The Finnish people have special difficulty also in distinguishing the gender of pronouns, because no gender is observed in Finnish in classifying pronouns. For an example, a Finnish man may make a mistake like the one which happened in an evening

school in Minnesota. The teacher asked him, pointing to his wife, "What do you call this?" He replied: "I call him she." These facts, and others which might be added, do show that there are many reasons to account for the slow progress which the immigrants often make in learning our language; they may also help us to sympathize with them in their difficulties.

To what extent do Finnish parents send their children to *colleges* and *higher institutions* of learning? We are unable to furnish any figures in this respect, but it may be said that their numbers are growing very fast. From our knowledge we could name at this moment several Finnish students attending the universities of Michigan, Chicago, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Boston, Oregon, and California, Dartmouth College, Wellesley, Michigan Agricultural College, Michigan College of Mines, Chicago Art Institute, and numerous Normal Colleges and Musical Conservatories. The University of Minnesota reports that there are enrolled this fall (1923) in that institution about 100 Finnish students. It would be very interesting to give a list of Finnish university graduates, but we do not know that any such list exists. From our knowledge we shall point out a few, without making it personal nor exhaustive. From the University of Michigan we can think of seven, four from the Law Department (one of

these men became the first Finnish Congressman in America two years ago), two from the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, and two in Medicine; one from Columbia, three from Chicago, and four from Minnesota, without trying to name others. In justice to the Finnish medical men, we should add that we are acquainted with a large number of them, who have received their professional education in America. The teaching profession, however, has attracted the largest number of Finnish young men and women. It has been estimated by some authorities that there are as many as 1,000 of them in this profession in America. The figures given here of various kinds of graduates should not by any means be taken as representing a total number. They have been cited at random only as illustrations of a fact important to notice in this connection.

Suomi College and Theological Seminary. Besides sending their children to the public schools, the Finns have been interested in organizing educational institutions for higher learning of their own. We shall give a few facts concerning the one which already has an important history behind it. This school is Suomi College and Theological Seminary, located at Hancock, Mich. It was founded by the Suomi Synod in 1896 and has continued its work ever since. It is the only educational institution in existence today, for general culture, organized by the Finns in Amer-

ica. A theological seminary, operated by the Finnish National Church at Ironwood, Mich., for a few years, has now closed its doors. Of the other church schools, e. g. Sunday Schools, etc., we shall speak in connection with our discussion of the church. But why organize a school in America that seems to savor of foreignness? Why was Suomi College organized?

Something in the name of the school partly answers our question. It has been organized, in the first place, for religious reasons. The state does not build our churches, or provide us with pastors, or take care of the religious training of our children in America. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." So we read in our Constitution; and yet this country was to be a Christian land, according to the idea of the framers of the Constitution. This ideal could be secured only through the separation of the state and the church. In our judgment it is not only our privilege but our duty to see that the democratic principles and Christian ideals, on which the foundation of this nation was based, are perpetuated in our national life. The great men in the history of our country, beginning with George Washington on to President Harding, have all emphasized the need of religious instruction in our country. The Finns did not need to be taught this

idea in America, for they came from a country where religion has exerted a great influence over the minds of the people. The Finns needed churches and ministers in America, and in order to satisfy the spiritual needs of the people amid new and strange conditions, it was necessary that the ministers understand the life and the thought of the people, whom they were to serve. The ministers coming from Finland soon found that the people were changing fast in their ways and the younger element especially was forgetting its mother tongue. A native born and educated ministry was needed. This was the prime reason for the founding of Suomi College.

The second reason was to give the children of the immigrants a chance to receive Christian education together with instruction in other necessary branches. Thirdly, to provide those immigrants who came to America in mature years with a school where they could come to learn English and receive instruction in other fundamental subjects. Lastly, the founders have had an idea that they wanted to give their children an opportunity to learn to know and understand the language and the history of their native land, not from any opposition to English, but in harmony with it. This last idea is not hard to understand, for every race has a warm spot in its heart for the life of its own kin. "If I forget thee, O, Jerusalem", expresses a human sentiment. The last

named reason does not play an unduly important part in the life of Suomi College today, in our judgment. A few years ago we read in the annual catalog of the institution that "the institution takes into consideration the requirements of an American education, at the same time cherishing the heritage of the Old Fatherland", but this statement may be interpreted as being more for the satisfaction of the older friends of the institution than anything foreign in the spirit of the school. The institution aims to be an American educational institution, contributing its services to the cause of citizenship by the education of leaders for the Finnish people who will be mentally keen and spiritually sound.

Suomi College has five departments, namely, the Preparatory, Music, Academic, Commercial and Theological Departments. The *Preparatory Department* is an important factor in Americanization work, courses being especially arranged to meet the needs of immigrants who are mature in age, and who can not for this reason attend a public school. English is the main subject taught, the number of hours per week being from 20—25 hours. United States history and geography are taught in connection with the English work. *Music Department* offers instruction in piano and organ and in choral singing. The *Academy* offers a four-year high school course. Nearly all the instruction in this department

is given in English. Two years ago the Academy was admitted on the accredited list of high schools by the University of Michigan. The *Commercial Department* offers a two years' course in bookkeeping and shorthand, together with allied subjects. The work of the school, in general, was favorably commended by the state inspector, Prof. J. B. Edmonson, and he paid special tribute to the Commercial Department because Civics was taught there to all the pupils. The *Theological Seminary* offers a three-year course; it prepares ministers for the Finnish Lutheran Church in America. Plans are now under way to open up a *Junior College* this fall.

The school is directed and supported by the Suomi Synod; yearly reports are made to the annual convention by the president of the institution. Five years ago the first president, Dr. J. K. Nikander, died; the office was filled through the election of Rev. John Wargelin, who also acts as manager of the institution. The faculty numbers twelve members at present, of whom nine have received their education and training in American colleges and universities; the others have been educated in the University of Helsingfors, of Finland. The enrollment has risen to 165 students, but during the last two years it has been somewhat smaller, due to the unsettled economic conditions experienced in America. Since the school is the only Finnish educational institution for

higher learning in America, the students come from all parts of the United States. It is the only school where the Finnish language can be learned properly in America, as no universities offer courses in it, and for this reason it has possibilities of development which may mean a great deal for it in the near future. Letters are continually received from Americans who wuold like to take a course in Finnish, but thus far no special courses have been offered for those not already familiar with the language. As there is a plan for adding new departments of study to the curricula, it is possible that a school for graduate work in Finnish may also be added.

Two years ago the school became free of debt and since then there has been some talk of moving it to some other place which would be more centrally located. A number of places have shown their interest in Suomi College by trying to induce the Board of Directors to consider them as possible new locations for the school; among these may be mentioned Duluth, Minnesota, and Painesville, Ohio. But at the time of this writing it does not appear probable that it will be moved away from Hancock. The city has always shown great interest in the school, and when the question of a new location came up, the Chamber of Commerce of Hancock appointed a committee to confer with the president of Suomi College to try to find out what could be done to keep the school in its

present location. This only shows that Suomi College has made friends in wide sections of our country.

In closing the discussion of this question, we quote what others have said about Suomi College. Mr. Clemens Niemi writes: "There are skeptical opinions as to the influence of denominational schools in immigrant groups. Some hold the opinion that they perpetuate racial boundaries; others again consider them to be means of enriching American culture. Each one may pass his judgment upon the matter according to his mental attitude. The college under consideration seems to have become a force in the adaptation of the newcomer, whatever its original aim may have been. In the organization of religious work the college has exerted a powerful influence. The ministers trained in it have learned the English language and the American viewpoint in church work. In other words, it has tended to demolish and to destroy old ways of thinking and formalism through educational channels. The institution also has acted as a medium in the dissemination of American principles through nationalist leadership. Its graduates of various departments have played an important role directly or indirectly in the Americanization process of community life. Numerous teachers in public schools have received their preparatory training in the college and they, knowing

the idiosyncrasies of their people, have been able to approach them with effective results. American influences have been thus brought more readily home. The school, furthermore, has prepared many newcomers for American citizenship by teaching the language of the country and its history."[1])

1) Op. referred previously, p. 33.

CHAPTER VII.

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE FINNS.

(Continued)

b) *Press.*

The importance of the press as a means of diffusing ideas, need not be dealt with here at any length. Its necessity is based on human association, without it the sympathy of man would be limited to his own narrow environment, with which he can have personal contact; but as a normal human being he needs to live in the larger life of his people and society. "Printing", says Prof. Cooley, "means democracy, because it brings knowledge within the reach of the common people; and knowledge, in the long run, is sure to make good its claim to power. It brings to the individual whatever part in the heritage of ideas he is fit to receive. The world of thought, and eventually the world of action, comes gradually under the rule of a true aristocracy of intelligence and character, in place of an artificial one created by exclusive opportunity."[2])

The newspaper has become a powerful factor in modern social life. Its development, like that of the

2) Social Organization, p. 75.

modern city, has not wholly been a rational product. "No one sought to make it just what it is. In spite of all the efforts of individual men and generations of men to control it and to make it something after their own heart, it has continued to grow and change in its own incalculable ways." Thus writes Professor Robert E. Park in the November issue, 1923, of The American Journal of Sociology. It may be said according to him, that the natural history of the press is the history of the surviving species. The struggle for existence, in the case of the newspaper, has been a struggle for circulation. The newspaper that is read becomes an influence in the community. The success of the newspaper does not, however, depend mainly upon intelligent readers, in fact, it is said that the most successful of the Hearst papers, the New York Evening Journal, gains a new body of subscribers every six years. The newspapers have discovered that even men who can perhaps read no more that the headlines in the daily press will buy a Sunday paper to look at the pictures.

It may be said that the modern newspaper aims to give news. The name of the first newspaper in America, at least the first that lasted beyond its first issue, was the *Boston News-Letter*. It was characteristically published by the postmaster, as the village post office and the country store have al-

ways been a public forum, where all the affairs of the community and country at large are discussed.

What is news? Many answers have been given. It is said that Charles A. Dana—who together with James Gordon Bennett, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst are said to have made the modern newspaper—defined news, that it is "anything that will make people talk". But this definition may be said to be that of the latest and most successful type of journal, or the yellow press. Professor Park, whose ideas we are presenting here, suggests, however, that not all successful journals are yellow. Some papers are guided by principle, and choose their news accordingly, while others say, "I renounce all so-called principles"; some write "the news in the form of fiction, while the daily press frequently writes fiction in the form of news." Surely there is needed a remedy for the existing condition of the newspaper, but it is not our problem at this time to suggest such remedies.

Why have a foreign-language press in America? The answer would seem to be that as long as we have members of immigrant groups among us, who are unable to read English, it is necessary to have these people communicate with the social mind of the community and country at large, through their papers.

A further reason for our large foreign-language press is the growth of great cities which increase

the size of the reading public, according to Professor Park. "Reading which was a luxury in the country", he says, "has become a necessity in the city. In the urban environment literacy is almost as much a necessity as speech itself".

Many immigrants who had not read newspapers in the old country have acquired the newspaper habit from reading a foreign-language newspaper in America, and eventually have become attracted to the native American newspapers. Mark Villchur, editor, of the Russkoye Slovo, New York City, learned from a survey taken among his readers that "out of 312 correspondents only 16 had regularly read newspapers in Russia; 10 others from time to time read newspapers in the Volast, the village administration center, and 12 were subscribers to weekly magazines. In America all of them were subscribers or readers of Russian newspapers". Thus learning the newspaper habit, the immigrant ultimately becomes a reader of the large American dailies which can better satisfy his desire for fresh news. These papers "are for him a window looking out into the large world outside the narrow circle of the immigrant community in which he has been compelled to live".[1])

1) Prof. R. E. Park, The Am. Journ. of Sociology, Nov. 1923, pp. 273—289.

It is not our purpose to enter into a defense of the foreign press in America, but it must be admitted that they play a very important part in the general educational work among the immigrants. If the platform of the paper is in harmony with democratic principles of government, and the editorship in the hands of broadminded, intelligent men, who are interested in the affairs of our country, then the paper can be a positive factor in Americanization work. We shall give briefly the early history of the Finnish press in America.

1) The first Finnish newspaper in America was the "Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti", published in Hancock, Mich., on April 14, 1876. It was a paper of four columns, and four pages, edited by A. J. Muikku, a student from Finland. The paper lived, however, only a short time; eleven and one-half issues in all were printed. The total number of subscribers had been 300.

2) The second paper was started by Matt Fred (died in 1922) in 1878, the name of the paper was "Swen Dufva". It lasted only for three years, because of lack of support.

3) In 1879, July 4th, was published the third Finnish paper in America by Alex Leinonen, one of the early Pioneers among the Finnish immigrants to America. Out of this paper was formed, in 1895, a paper whose name has become very well known

among the Finns. This paper was named "Siirtolainen", (The Immigrant). It is still published as a weekly paper, but its circulation is very small, due to the fact that the owners of it are more interested in their daily paper, "Päivälehti", published at Duluth, Minnesota.

4) The next in order was the "Uusi Kotimaa", (The New Homeland), published in 1881 by August Nylund, at Minneapolis, later moved to New York Mills, Minn. This paper has enjoyed comparatively good support, due to the character of the paper and the acquaintance of its publishers with the people in general. It is still published in New York Mills, Minn., but it is now owned by the Non-Partisan League in Minnesota. It is the oldest of the Finnish papers now in existence.

5) "Yhdysvaltain Sanomat", organized at Ashtabula Harbor, Ohio, by August Edwards, in 1884, was moved to Minneapolis later, then brought to Calumet, Mich., where it was finally discontinued.

6) "Walvoja", the first religious paper, first publication in 1885, at Ashtabula Harbor, edited by J. W. Lähde, J. J. Hoikka and J. K. Nikander. (The two last named, ministers, became five years later the founders of the Finnish Lutheran Church in America.) This publication ceased in 1888.

7) "New Yorkin Lehti", in 1890, by Gronlund.

8) "Lännetär", at Astoria, Oregon, in 1891, founded by J. E. Saari, Adolph Riippa and A. Ketonen.

9) "Amerikan Uutiset", in 1894, at Minneapolis, later moved to Calumet, Mich., founded by Fred Karinen.

10) "Kuparisaaren Sanomat", at Hancock, Mich., in 1895, editor Victor M. Burman, sold in 1899 to a publishing company at Calumet, Mich., and was published for a few years under the name of "Suometar".

11) In 1897, August Edwards, of Ashtabula Harbor, Ohio, who had already been identified with some Finnish newspaper projects, began to publish a paper by the name of "Amerikan Sanomat". In 1903 the "Suometar" of Calumet was united with it under a new name of "Amerikan Sanomat ja Suometar". This paper has enjoyed at times as many as 12,000 subscribers, but in 1913 its publication was discontinued because of the lack of support.

12) In June, 1899 a paper was organized which has had considerable influence over the religious and educational work of the Finns, and is still in existence. The name of this paper is the "Amerikan Suometar". It was founded by K. L. Tolonen, J. K. Nikander and John Back, ministers of Suo-

mi Synod, and laymen J. H. Jasberg, Isaac Sillberg, Alex. Leinonen and Jacob Holmlund. In 1900 the paper changed owners and became the property of the Suomi Synod through its publishing concern, which was organized by the name of the Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, with headquarters at Hancock, Michigan. The purpose for the founding of the "Amerikan Suometar" can be gathered from the words, written by Emil Pesonen, manager of the "Amerikan Suometar", in the 20th Anniversary publication of the paper. He says: "In the minds of some of the leading men of the church (Suomi Synod), rose the thought that a newspaper devoted to religious and educational work, and presenting this work from the standpoint of those who were to make their homes here, would be of value. As the church was organized permanently for active work in America, such a paper became a necessity".

The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern publishes also at present the "Paimen Sanomat" (devotional, and official organ of Suomi Synod), the "Lasten Lehti" (Sunday School paper), the "Nuorten Ystävä" (Young People's paper), and other publications of the Synod, e. g. "Kirkollinen Kalenteri", and the Year Book of the Suomi Synod.

13) "Auttaja", semi-religious paper, founded in 1906, is the official organ of the Finnish National Lutheran Church. It is published at Ironwood, Michigan, and the editorship has generally been in the hands of one of the clergymen of the Synod. The same body has also published for a number of years other church papers and publications.

This description would be incomplete without adding that the Finnish National Brothers' Temperance Association has published a temperance paper for several years, but owing to the decline of temperance societies in general, after the adoption of national prohibition, the publication of this paper has been suspended. The F. N. B. Temperance Association has a bright history to point to through its various activities, as for example, its yearly prize essay contests on social questions, temperance particularly, its song festivals, and its uplifting in general of the morale of the Finnish immigrants.

Over 100 different Finnish newspapers have been started since Mr. Muikku first published his paper in 1876. At present there are about 30 Finnish publications, e. g. "Amerikan Suometar", published in Hancock, Mich., "Auttaja", published in Ironwood, Mich., "Industialisti" (radical), Duluth, Minn., "Lännen Suometar", Astoria, Ore., "New Yorkin Uutiset", New York City, "Pohjantähti", Fitchburg, Mass., "Päivälehti", a daily, Duluth,

Minn., "Työmies" (Socialistic), Superior, Wis., and "Walvoja", Calumet, Mich. It is useless to follow the history of the Finnish press any further. Of the thirty or so papers now in existence, according to Robert E. Park[1]) eleven are socialist or radical papers. And he makes the statement that the Finns have proportionally more radical papers in America than any other race, with the exception of the Jews. Prof. Van Cleef makes this number 29, and divides it into 7 socialist, 1 radical, and 21 religious or liberal papers. By the term religious or liberal he means in this case the religious, republican, independent and temperance papers. He says: "Including four year-books, one may count 29 periodical publications. Of these seven are Socialistic, one is an organ of the I. W. W., and the rest are liberal. The total circulation of these publications is as follows: Socialist—29,000, I. W. W.—3,500, liberal—59,000, year-books—20,000. This gives a grand total of 111,500. These figures do not all represent different individuals who read these periodicals, for some subsribe to several of them.[2])

If the above statement that the Finns have proportionally more radical papers than any other race, with the exception of the Jews, is true, the question arises, how can we account for such a large number

1) The Immigration Press and its Control, p. 46.
2) The Finn in America, p. 24.

of radical papers among them? We take up the consideration of Socialism among the Finns later, suffice it here to try to point out a few reasons. In the first place, it is to be understood that the same publishing concern publishes different kinds of papers for its readers, viz., a daily paper, farming publication, comic paper, quarterly publications, etc. So in reality many of these publications are only duplications of the same efforts. Secondly, the Finnish Socialists are later comers to America, — in fact they were not heard of before the year 1900 —and are therefore nearly entirely dependent upon the Finnish papers, while the older Finns read the American papers to a large extent. It would be safe to estimate that about 50 per cent of the Finnish families subscribe to one or more English papers. We can state this from our knowledge of the mining towns only, for we do not happen to be acquainted with conditions elsewhere in this respect. And thirdly, the political and social traditions in Finland have influenced many in their leaning towards Socialism.[1]) Such a condition points, further, to the fact that the ranks of the Finnish Socialists are divided, thus indicating a weakened condition from which Society has little to fear.

There is yet another thing to be added in speaking of the foreign press. It seems to us that they serve

1) See Rural Michigan, Chase, p. 167.

a useful purpose in a particular sense. Many of the Finnish papers have been organized for religious reasons. Through them the Christian ideals and principles, respect for law and reverence for sacred things are inculcated in the minds of the immigrants; and through them important religious and educational questions are discussed. People living in remote and secluded communities, or on lonely homesteads many miles away from other inhabitants, welcome these friendly visitors to their homes. They are brought face to face with their fellowmen, and can take part in spirit in the religious activities with their Christian brethern. Even at best, there is a great deal of religious work to be done in America by means of the press, for the time available for religious instruction by the churches is very limited.

The foreign press is upheld in America with great difficulty, and especially has this been true of the Finnish press. The business of printing has really made no one rich, instead many individuals have had to sacrifice not only their time but their own means in such attempts. But if they have helped to interpret the American spirit to those who have not been able to read American publications, if they have contributed their influence in making the immigrant feel at home in his "new homeland", and if they have entered in spirit into America's well-being and up-building, then their services and

sacrifices have not been made in vain. This is our judgment concerning the better class of the Finnish papers, with which the writer has been quite familiar. The language does not make the paper alone, it is the idea represented by the symbol that counts.

CHAPTER VIII.

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE FINNS

(Continued)

c) *Church.*

The Finns are religious by nature. Before their conversion to Christianity they worshipped many gods. Nature was animated with various kinds of spirits. The god of the forests and game was "Tapio"; of the cattle, "Kekri"; "Wellamo" dominated in the watery realm; and "Tuoni" or "Mana" had dominion over the gloomy regions of the nether world. "Ukko" was the supreme deity who reigned over all space and other spirits. Most of the gods were supposed to have female companions, who were worshipped to some extent with them. The worship consisted of prayers and sacrifices to the deities. No temples were built, the sacrifices being offered on altars built on mountain tops or near some living springs. The Finnish epic, "Kalevala", gives a very good general understanding of the religious life of the pagan Finn. Juhani Aho, Finland's most gifted modern writer (died in 1921), has written a most fascinating book, entitled "Panu", on the pre-Christian life and customs of the Finns. In general

we may say that the Finns have lived close to nature and have always been open to the mysterious suggestions and whisperings of the spiritual world. There exists a great resemblance between the old Aryan mythology of India and that of Finland.

About ninety-nine per cent of the inhabitants are classed as Lutherans. They were converted to Christianity in 1157 by Bishop Henry, an Englishman sent by King Erick the IX, of Sweden, to convert the Finns. After a severe battle, where better arms and higher civilization triumphed, the Finns were conquered, and those that remained from the battle, were baptized at the "Spring of Kupitta", a place near Turku, Finland. After that Finland remained in union with the Roman Catholic Church until the time of the Reformation. In 1527 Sweden adopted the new faith for the whole Kingdom, and Finland became a Protestant country. The new faith found no opposition in Finland for many of the leading men had studied at Wittenberg, Germany, the seat of Protestantism, and had brought with them the new spirit into the Church; then, also, the remoteness of the country from Rome had protected it against many of the evils found in countries where papal influence was greater.

Webster defines a Lutheran as one "who accepts or adheres to the doctrines of Luther or the Lutheran Church". In this sense the Finnish Lutherans in

America may be said to be one, although in external government they compose three distinct bodies, namely, 1) The Finnish Lutheran Church of America or Suomi Synod, 2) The Finnish Evangelical National Lutheran Church in America, and 3) Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church of America. We shall give briefly the statistics of each of these bodies.

Suomi Synod. This Synod, which is the oldest and the largest, was organized in 1890 at Calumet, Michigan. In 1922 it had a membership of 9,396 men, 9,837 women, and 16,836 children, total membership 36,269. Besides these members in the congregations that are actually affiliated with the Synod, the pastors serve several independent congregations, so that the total membership thus rises to 41,500 persons. In 1922 the Synod had 206 Sunday Schools, with 1,570 teachers, and 8,675 children. Last summer there were in operation 70 religious summer schools for children, with 76 teachers, and 3,980 pupils. There are 87 church buildings, valued at $473,707; 59 parsonages, valued at $91,200; other church property valued at $87,578; total valuation of property $652,485. The number of ministers at present is 55; out of these 10 have received their education in Finland, nearly all of the others have been educated at Suomi College and Theological Seminary. About fifteeen years

ago the proportion was vice versa, only a very small number being educated in America. This fact shows that Americanization is gaining very rapidly in this Church.

The work is well organized and directed. Work among the young people is progressing very satisfactorily. Home-Mission work is done among the Finns that are scattered here and there throughout the country. A special Superintendent has charge of the work. The work is being jointly supported by the United Lutheran Church in America and the Suomi Synod. Foreign Mission work is done jointly with The Missionary Society of Finland in the mission fields of China. The Synod took part in the Campaign, conducted by The National Lutheran Council, for the relief of sufferers in Russia. Another important department of work is organized under the name of The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, of Hancock, Mich. We have already stated that this Concern publishes various church papers and periodicals e. g. "Amerikan Suometar", "Paimen Sanomat", and a Sunday School paper for children. Last year a branch office of this concern was established in Astoria, Oregon, for the purpose of reaching the thousands of Finns in the Western states that are outside of any Church. For this purpose a paper, printed in Finnish, "Lännen Suometar", was started last April. The Finnish Luth. Book

Concern does extensive outside printing work yearly. For example, the 1923 Annual of The Michigan College of Mines was printed and bound here. It also distributes and prints yearly thousands of volumes of good educational and religious books. This branch of the work is very important in connection with the study of the Americanization problem. The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern has been a great factor in giving thousands of Finns a right understanding of American ideals. The same thing may also be said of the National Synod publication work, which is carried on on a smaller scale.

The Suomi Synod owns and supports Suomi College, and the president of the school makes a yearly report of the work at the annual meeting of the Church.

The officers of the Church are: Pres., Rev. Alfred Haapanen, A. B.; Vice President, Rev. John Wargelin, A. M.; Secretary, Rev. Victor Kuusisto; Notary, Rev. Lauri R. Ahlman; and Treasurer, Isaac Wargelin.

A great deal of the preaching in the churches is still done in Finnish, because so many of the older members can understand only Finnish. But the young people are fast demanding the use of English, and many of the churches have introduced English jointly with Finnish. The programs of the Young Peoples' Societies are largely conducted in English.

All this shows that the Finns are passing through a period of transition in their church work.

We add here the statistical table of the congregations affiliated with the Suomi Synod, and their membership.[1])

TABLE XI.

Statistical Table of the Finnish Congregations Affiliated with the Suomi Synod in 1923.

	Men	Women	Children	Total
California:				
Berkeley	14	35	31	80
Eureka	5	7	4	16
Fort Bragg	40	44	31	115
Los Angeles	8	12	5	25
Reedley	16	21	51	88
Rocklin	3	7	8	18
San Francisco	10	37	14	61
Colorado:				
Leadville	Membership not given			
North Dakota:				
Ahola (Wing)	41	45	135	221
South Dakota:				
Lead	30	34	80	144
Poinsett (L. Norden)	70	73	100	243
Fredrick	84	92	125	301

1) The Yearbook of the Suomi Synod. 1923. in Finnish.

Illinois:				
Chicago	20	30	15	65
De Kalb	88	74	124	286
Waukegan	90	98	156	344
Maine:				
Harrison-Pulkkila	21	25	80	126
South Paris	21	24	53	98
Massachusetts:				
Allston-Brighton	42	56	62	160
Cape Ann	179	192	212	583
Gardner	100	105	85	290
Maynard	56	60	100	216
Peabody	70	76	104	250
Quincy	48	55	100	203
West Barnstable	30	30	70	130
Worcester	128	130	220	478
Michigan:				
Alabaster	21	11	8	40
Allouez	22	19	56	97
Amasa	80	84	171	335
Askel	6	7	34	47
Atlantic	70	78	102	250
Baltic-South Range	110	110	296	516
Baraga	—	—	—	—
Bessemer	41	53	98	192
Calumet	251	231	263	745
Champion	20	25	45	90

Chassell	63	61	103	227
Covington	92	95	126	313
Crystal Falls	124	132	365	621
Deerton	32	20	45	100
Detroit	158	137	105	400
Diorite	2	4	15	21
East Branch	10	8	20	38
East Tawas	17	12	16	45
Eben	68	51	128	247
Ewen	8	9	23	40
Elo	20	18	29	67
Grand Marais	28	22	64	120
Hancock	613	588	867	2,068
Ironwood	231	243	552	1,026
Ishpeming	417	397	549	1,363
Jacobsville	31	25	20	76
Kaleva	242	217	288	747
Keweenaw Bay	26	20	56	102
Pelkie	40	44	90	174
Laird	120	145	220	485
Lake City (Jennings)	23	20	73	116
Maple Ridge	57	59	136	252
Mass	30	50	90	170
North Ironwood	36	42	53	131
Mohawk	108	94	124	326
Marquette	4	9	4	17
Negaunee	137	135	203	475
Newberry	70	65	120	255

Oskar	22	23	24	69
Onnela	28	24	25	77
Painesdale	36	38	65	135
Palmer	73	55	76	204
Paynesville	56	55	83	194
Pequaming	15	13	15	43
Princeton (Gwinn)	127	110	245	482
Redridge-Beacon Hill.	27	25	70	122
Republic	176	161	345	682
Rudyard	123	112	210	445
Sault Ste Marie	54	50	80	184
Stambaugh	43	36	51	130
St. Ignace	6	8	10	24
Trenary	14	6	28	48
Toivola	26	22	57	105
Trimountain	16	18	42	76
Trout Creek	25	30	68	123
Uusi Suomi	30	32	72	134
Wakefield	262	254	521	1,037
Winona	13	12	56	81
Winthrope	57	67	106	230
Wasa Siding (Wainola)	32	33	90	155
Minnesota:				
Angora	24	28	58	110
Biwabic	22	25	35	82
Brainerd	35	35	50	120
Chisholm	50	56	110	216
Cloquet	41	37	35	173

Cokato	47	39	75	161
Cromwell	15	10	25	50
Duluth	30	35	45	110
Ely	105	104	155	364
Eveleth	156	150	220	526
Embarrass	—	—	—	—
French Lake	63	55	78	196
Floodwood	80	60	90	230
Gilbert	30	35	40	105
Idington	16	12	18	46
Iron	33	41	31	109
Ironton	6	7	—	13
Kalevala	39	40	49	128
Kingston	29	25	52	106
Kinney	16	23	27	66
Minneapolis	26	37	25	88
Middle River	30	30	91	151
Mt. Iron	98	100	169	367
New York Mills	36	32	48	116
Finlayson	46	45	57	148
Rosburg-Valparaiso	6	9	17	32
St. Louis River	80	75	145	300
Sebeka	19	19	42	80
Soudan	54	65	61	180
Sparta	36	29	52	117
Suomi (Deer River)	5	7	14	26
Tamarack	10	15	38	63
Toivola	17	10	18	45

Tower	5	6	13	24
Trout Lake	12	18	30	50
Virginia	146	148	158	452
West Duluth	18	20	36	73
Mississippi:				
Pecan				22
Montana:				

Butte, Highwood, North Willow Creek. No figures on these places; work is being carried on with the aid of Home Mission support.

New York:				
Brooklyn	96	123	151	370
Harlem	23	94	11	128
South New York	8	18	11	37
Van Etten	28	23	51	102
New Hampshire:				
West Concordia	10	10	20	40
North Brookline	—	—	—	—
Ohio:				
Ashtabula Harbor	380	340	380	1,250
Burton	14	14	14	42
Cleveland	15	28	23	66
Conneaut	161	181	380	722
Fairport	386	381	550	1,317
Girard	27	33	56	116
Jacksonville	15	13	45	73
Warren	76	90	155	320

Oregon:				
Astoria	107	113	85	305
Blind Slough	10	12	5	27
Portland	18	41	23	82
Swenson	3	4	6	13
Pennsylvania:				
Bessemer	13	11	14	38
Erie	12	15	31	58
Monessen	75	70	180	325
New Castle	59	74	100	243
Nanty Glo	21	17	34	72
Rankin	8	6	4	18
Washington:				
Deep River	58	39	53	150
Seattle	19	23	16	58
Woodland	9	8	12	29
Ilwaco	18	20	17	45
Vader	8	6	18	31
Aberdeen	7	13	5	25
West Virginia:				
Clarksburg	10	12	16	38
Weirton	22	20	60	102
Wisconsin:				
Phelps	19	22	71	112
Iron Belt	45	48	71	164
Niemi	20	18	100	138
Owen	49	41	100	190

Oulu (Salo)	30	25	48	103
Superior	9	13	18	40
Westboro	18	21	23	62
Uusi Savo	29	25	30	84
Turtle Lake	44	30	36	110
North York & Marengo	15	17	39	71
Wyoming:				
Rock Springs	6	11	13	30
Canada:				
Cobalt	—	—	—	—
Copper Cliff	66	76	98	240
New Finland	50	50	120	230
Sault Ste Marie	18	27	41	86
Total 9,378	9,573	15,456	34,441	

The Finnish National Synod. This Synod was organized in Ironwood, Mich., in 1898. The Synod numbers 24 ministers, 59 congregations, and 7,992 members. The total valuation of church property is estimated at about $200,000. The Synod is also engaged in different departments of work. About four years ago a Theological Seminary was opened up at Ironwood, Michigan; no preparatory department has been attached to it. The enrollment in 1922 was four students. The institution has been closed since then because of lack of students. Foreign Mission work is done by giving aid to the Gospel Society of Finland, which has a field in Japan. A

church organ, by the name of "Auttaja", is published at the printing establishment owned by the Synod at Ironwood, Mich. A Sunday School paper, the "Lasten Ystävä" (The Children's Friend), is also published there.

The officers for the year 1921 were: President, Arne Wasunta; Vice President, Rev. M. Wiskari; Secretary, Rev. P. Miettunen; and Treasurer, Erick Kangas. The Rev. K. E. Salonen has been in charge of the Theological Seminary.

Finnish Apostolic Church. The churches going under this name are not organized into any so-called Synodical system. They are united in doctrine. No official annual meetings are held, and the church has no elected officers. The government of the church rests with the congregations and thus may be said to be Congregational in organization; but otherwise this body has nothing in common with the Congregational Church of America. The Apostolic Church does not believe in a paid ministry and is therefore nearly entirely dependent on lay-preachers. They rank second to the Suomi Synod in number of congregations and church members. It may be said that some of the earliest Finnish immigrants, who came to America from Norway, Sweden, and the northernmost part of Finland, were members of this group. This sect is generally known in Church History by the name of Laestadians,

taking their name from Lauri Levi Laestadius, a preacher who labored in the northern part of Sweden about the middle of the last century. In America his followers have adopted the name of Apostolic Lutherans.[1])

1) These facts have been gathered from the Year-book of Suomi Synod, 1922 and 1923, Year-book of the Churches, 1921—1923; and the Lutheran World Almanac for 1922, with additions by the writer.

The statistics of the Suomi Synod were given in full for the purpose of showing where Finnish churches are found in general. The National and Apostolic Synods are found represented mostly in the same communities.

CHAPTER IX.

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE FINNS.

(Continued)

d) *Societies.*

Under this heading it is our purpose to acquaint ourselves with the kind of social life the Finns are leading. The most important group of any society is the intimate face-to-face association of *home*. It is mainly the basis for our larger social life. The Finnish home does not differ materially from those of other nationalities in America on equal economic footing. The family generally averages seven or eight members, some may have more, others less, but in general the families are of that size. The spirit of the home is rather conservative and mostly permeated by a warm Christian spirit. The children are brought up to respect and obey their parents with humble submission. This trait, in my opinion, has a tendency to develop in the minds of the children a sort of undue submissiveness to all authority and leadership, and is likely to destroy initiative. The Finn is generally obedient to the directions and commands of his superiors, but will also take offense easily, although he may not express it openly. This

may be the result of his former political conditions and also from the caste system, which has existed in Finland in some form up to this century. By caste we mean, roughly speaking, "the rule of hereditary descent, as in the hereditary nobility of England or Germany". According to this system, which is a remnant of feudalism, the population in Finland was formerly divided into four separate social classes or estates. Caste in this sense should not, however, be likened to the rigid caste system still prevailing in India. It should be added, further, that by nature the Finn is not submissive, but has a strong sense of independence and freedom.

The home of the Finns is furnished as well as his means will permit, and both the husband and wife show the utmost loyalty towards its upkeep. "To own a home means liberty", might be said to be a motto of the Finn. We find that wherever he lives, his effort is bent towards buying or building his own home. One further noticeable feature concerning the Finnish home may be said to be its perfect cleanliness. Superintendent Gilruth, of the Hancock, Mich., High School, who has lived for a long time in communities where Finns are very numerous, said in a public address, "the Finnish homes are so clean that I would not hesitate to eat a meal off their floor."

In connection with physical cleanliness we may refer to the Finnish bath-house with which everyone who lives among the Finnish people soon becomes acquainted. It is one of the first of the many buildings that he builds on his farm. It consists of an oven, constructed of boulders in one corner of a log cabin which has only one window, at some height from the floor, to let in light. A fire is built of wood and allowed to burn, until the rocks have become intensely hot. The bath is then ready. A dressing room is first entered from the outside, which leads into the bath-house, "sauna", proper. Buckets of cold water are thrown over the rocks, which give forth clouds of hot steam. Some of the older men, who are well used to the "sauna", can stand an enormous amount of heat. A bath of this kind, although it may sound crude from our description, gives one a most soothing and rejuvenating sensation. On Saturday evenings, or when the men have finished their week's work, they are sure to go to the Finnish bath-house. It is our belief that the old saying, "clealiness is next to godliness", is not very far from right.

An unfavorable thing which has been noticed concerning the American Finnish home is that a serious breach is developing between the older and the younger members of the family. The younger members generally converse in English in the home.

In most cases the older members understand enough of it to follow their conversation, in general. But the breach does not result from this, it is rather a result of different interests and traditions. The young members, who have been born in America, do not know much about Finland and naturally do not care about the things in which the old folks are interested. In homes where the children have been given good home training, this feature is not so noticeable, but where it has been neglected, the results are serious. The children are ashamed of their parents and of thir own nationality, a thing which is deplorable with anyone. What is the remedy for this condition which does not exist only among Finns, but is common with all immigrants to a greater or lesser extent?

We shall try to answer this question partly from our experience of immigrant conditions, and partly from facts gathered from other sources. One way to remedy it, would be to have the older generation learn English more fluently and take part in the social activities of their communities. We have nothing against this plan of Americanization as long as it is worked out on a sympathetic and intelligent basis. But very frequently serious mistakes are made by well-intending but ill-advised social workers. We may be permitted to relate an incident to illustrate our point, and we feel justified in refer-

ring to it, for the other side of the case has been given wide publicity by different periodicals, for example, by "The Christian Herald", of New York, some two years ago. We refer to the "Speak-English" propaganda carried on in St. Louis County, Minn., among Finnish settlers. A story is told, of a young lady who was teaching school in a Finnish community. She was strongly motivated by the idea of Americanizing that community, and she undoubtedly had plenty of reasons for feeling so. She commenced by having her Finnish pupils pledge themselves never to speak Finnish anywhere, neither at home, nor in school, nor on the playground. Some of the children became very enthusiastic followers of her instructions. One girl, for example, whose father owned a store, refused to sell the customers anything until they asked for things in English. The children would not speak Finnish to their parents but made them try to express themselves in English. This, apparently, was considered good Americanization work by the teacher; to her Americanism was synonymous with being able to speak English.

Now this plan is open to criticism for several reasons. Let us point out only three. First, it is a violation of the unity of the primary group, a matter to which we have referred above. In order that moral unity may develop, there must be loyalty to the primary group. Professor Cooley suggests

in his book on "Social Organization", that the mother is the ideal of moral unity. Therefore, proper respect of parents must not be undermined by any educational process. Secondly, it was not the children but the parents that needed to learn English. The children were learning it daily at school, and as we have shown previously, they do learn it effectively. But were not the parents learning it through their children by this method? We have no reason to believe the negative, but it would have been infinitely better to organize an evening school for the parents in that community, for the Finnish people are very anxious to learn English, where an opportunity for it is provided. But the most serious fault we find with this method is that it is undemocratic. The parents were being compelled to submit to certain conditions rather than be persuaded to that viewpoint through voluntary choice. And in the writer's judgment of Finnish nature, it failed to create love for America, because it ignored the important psychological principle of gaining the confidence of the foreigner. It was the method of compulsion. And is it a crime, we may ask, *to be able to speak* some other language besides English in America? We have never been able to understand Americanism as being that narrow. The breach between the younger and older members of the family can not be remedied in such a way. The

thing to do is to promote unity of spirit and interests, and this must be done through education that is democratic in spirit.

As far as the younger element among the Finns is concerned, they do not offer any special problem in Americanization, except that the unity of the home is often impaired to a more or less degree because of different interests of the older and younger members. But where the children learn something about Finland, its history and social and intellectual life, there it shows itself in respect for parents and a willingness to go under the name of their own nationality, as pointed out before. On the other hand, the older members have not been satisfactorily reached through socializing agencies. This fact is known to be true in the work among other nationalities also. Various organizations and institutions have been established, particularly after the War, but the consensus of opinion is that they have not reached the adults in so large a measure as possible.[1])

We wonder, whether among other reasons for this is, that it has been a case of approaching the immigrant from a wrong angle. Self-consious men with intelligence, resent any idea of coercion or compulsion that is exerted upon them from above. Quite

1) See "The Spirit of Americanization", by Louise La Bella, Education, April, 1921.

Without it we can not communicate properly in our social life, neither can we take part in the life of the nation as a whole. It is also of practical value to everyone to be able to ue it. In this we all agree. In the bulletin of the Department of The Interior, Bulletin No. 76, 1919, on Community Americanization (a book which everyone, who is interested in this question, should read), we read: "While, theoretically, it may be considered that a foreigner may become a good American in spirit without knowing our language, it is generally granted that, if there is to be a community of interest, there must be a common language for conveying thought." But there is after all something more to Americanism than the mere knowledge of English. Language is only a means and not an end in itself. It is merely a tool. A man may be able to use English in an eloquent discourse and yet be un-American in spirit, and a foreigner may be ignorant of English and yet come closer to being a real American than the one who was born under "the Stars and Stripes". "Americanism is entirely an attitude of mind; it is the way we look at things that makes us Americans," writes Louise La Bella.

The writer's own humble judgment finds expression in the above classic words, and we feel that it would be a moral wrong not to accept them in our case. It is necessary to emphasize them further in

the presence of such Americanzation plans as that of the Minnesota teacher. We hope to be forgiven for making personal references, but we deem the case in hand calls for it. We feel justified in saying that the writer's Americanism is not doubted by those who know him. But I wish to add, that there is another one whose case it is my duty to explain. She is thoroughly an American in spirit, although she is unable to converse in English. That person is the writer's mother. She came to America over thirty-two years ago with her family, to join her husband, who had preceded her by some two years. This mother has worked hard for her family. She has been the heart and soul in the education of her children. She loves this land of many opportunities just as much as her children do, although the same opportunities have not been afforded her. She has not been able to go to school and learn our great world-language, but through her many sacrifices the opportunities have been extended to her children. Yes, we repeat that it is our moral duty to interpret the soul and spirit of such Americans, who, because of various reasons not of their own choice, have not been able to learn our language. Are there not many, perhaps, of such mothers and fathers in our midst? Are they any the less Americans because of this deficiency? — But now to the other groups under this heading.

Of the *societies* peculiar to the Finns we may mention The Temperance Societies, The Knights and the Ladies of Kaleva, Musical organizations, Athletic associations, and Socialistic organizations, not speaking of other social institutions which they have in common with other citizens. Concerning the *Temperance Societies* it may be said that they have done a noble work among the Finns. The drinking habit has been a curse to many an immigrant in America, its appeal has been too strong for many a man who has found himself friendless among strange people. The Temperance Societies among the Finns provided the newcomers with clean social life and opportunity for discussion and communication with their fellowmen. Their work in the early years of the history of Finnish immigration can not be too highly praised. They afforded the simple peasant folks an opportunity for receiving their first parliamentary experience in conducting meetings. Many of the pioneers in temperance work have developed into effective speakers. The largest of the grand lodges of the Temperance Societies is The Finnish National Brotherhood Temperance Association, organized in 1885, with headquarters at Ishpeming, Michigan. At one time it had over a hundred local societies united with it and nearly ten thousand members. The importance of temperance societies in general has diminished among the Finns within

the last ten years, partly because, with the adoption of prohibition, interest in temperance has waned, and partly because other societies have appeared which have taken together with temperance other issues on their program. The Finns have also largely adopted the Anti-Saloon League method of temperance work, i. e. the churches act as agencies for temperance work, special societies being thus less needed where churches are well organized. It has been said to the credit of the Finns, that the Upper Peninsula of Michigan made such a good showing in the fight for prohibition largely because of the firm stand Finns took for it.[1]) And they are still among the most ardent supporters of law enforcement. They believe that prohibition law has not created lawlessness; it has only brought to the surface our great laxity in moral questions in general.

We produce further facts in support of this opinion, Raymond B. Fosdick, in American Police system, shows by carefully compiled police statistics that "crime is far more prevalent in American cities than in the cities of England, France, and Germany. In 1916 Chicago with its 2,500,000 people had 20 more murders than the whole of England and Wales put together with their 38,000,000 people" (p. 10). "In 1915, New York City had approximately eight times as many burglaries as London and nearly twice

1) See Rural Michigan, Chase p. 167.

the number of burglaries reported in all England and Wales" (p. 15). Dr Frederick L. Hoffman, comparing the homicide rate of England and Wales with that of the United States, estimates that the former is about one-tenth of the latter.[1]) It is also a known fact that the United States has more divorces every year than any other country, with the exception of Japan.[2])

The 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act cannot be considered as causing lawlessness; they have only revealed a lawless spirit in quarters where it was not suspected. The fact seems to be, though humiliating, that we are as a nation lawless in comparison with other civilized countries. Our Americanization workers need to recognize this serious problem and lay plans for effective moral education. We need to learn law respect and reverence. This problem concerns the immigrant as well as the native born.

That the Finns are strong prohibitionists in America is not surprising when we recall that Finland was the first European nation to vote prohibtion, but due to its dependence on Russia at that time, the law was not ratified by the Czar. Finland has, however, adopted prohibition since receiving its independence.

1) Letter to The New York Sun, February 3, 1922, quoted in the "The Minute Man", February 22, 1923.

2) See "Marriage and Divorce, 1867—1906: Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1908, 1909, Vol. I, p. 41; and Blackmar and Gillin, Outlines of Sociology, New York, 1916, Chap. VI.

The Knights and the Ladies of Kaleva are secret orders fashioned after the American secret orders, e. g. the Masonic lodges, though on an independent basis. The membership of these organizations is scattered throughout America. We are not able to give any figures concerning them, neither can we say much about their activities as their work is done in secret. Whether the work of the secret orders can be said to be un-American, we are not in a position to decide. But judging by the example shown by our deceased President and other leading Americans, there should be no reason for doubt in this respect. It does, however, appear to us on the basis of impartial reasoning that the secret orders may become un-democratic institutions in the hands of unscrupulous politicians who may use them as their tools, thus creating state within state and thwarting the will of the people, without offering the public an opportunity to know of their contrivances. Many men, undoubtedly, join them in order to receive backing from them in their political aspirations. We have, however, no reason to believe that the orders under discussion here come under such criticism. But the recent experiences of our country with the Ku Klux Klan, for instance, lead us to reflect on such thoughts. The question concerning secred societies does not concern the Finn alone; it is still an open question in our social life.—Besides the Knights and

the Ladies of Kaleva, some Finnish men and women belong to other national secret orders; the chief reason for their joining being mostly a desire for protection under the benevolent features of these organizations.

Of the *Musical Organizations* we name briefly mixed and male choirs and bands. The Finns are great lovers of music; they sing when they are sad as well as when they are moved by lighter and happier emotions. They possess a wonderfully rich supply of folk-songs and lyric poems. "Kalevala," the national epic of Finland, was collected by Elias Lönnrot among the Karelians and published as a book in 1835. It aroused great enthusiasm and interest in folk-lore and mythology at that time. The epic was translated into most of the European languages and our own poet, Henry W. Longfellow, was inspired by it. The monotonous metre of the Finnish epic suited his theme, and so he wrote "The Song of Hiawatha" in trochaic metre. Page's "Chief American Poets" (p. 158), says on this point: "The metre was avowedly taken from that of the Finnish epic Kalevala, which he had read with Freiligrath twelve years before.[1])

"Kalevala" describes the magic power of music as used by Wäinämöinen. His might was in his song

1) See also Freiligrath's letter in the London Athenaeum, Dec. 22, 1855.

and harp-playing. Even the sun stopped in its course to listen to the Northern Orpheus, and the beasts of the forest gathered around him, enchanted by his ecstatic strains. The Finns have always sung, and when they came to America they had reason to sing of their longing for home, and of their childhood memories and youthful loves, whispered under the "midsummer-night sun", when nature was awake in its sleep, and the evening embraced morning without the shadow of night on its brow. We may say that nearly every larger Finnish community has had, and still has, some kind of a musical organization connected with the Temperance Society or existing at times as an independent institution. Song-festivals have often been held to which as many as fifteen choirs and perhaps nearly as many bands have come from several neighboring states. They have afforded much healthful enjoyment and wholesome amusement to large numbers, and we see no reason why such use of leisure time should not become more common among all classes of Americans.

The kind of music they sing and play is also worthy of being noticed here. The musical standard of Finland is very high; several first-class musical colleges, conservatories, and organ-schools are found in which some of the leading musicians of the world are associated, e. g. Jean Sibelius, Erkki Melartin, Selim Palmgren, Oskar Merikanto, Madetoja, Ojan-

perä, and others. Musical standards have been raised in the country so that one can hear the best classical music wherever any music is played. This has also had its influence upon the musical activities of the American Finns. The choirs and bands generally render classical music within their range of interpretation. The cultural value of this kind of social activity must be said to be very high. The music is selected from the classical compositions of all nations without regard to its national origin, for there is no creed nor racial distinction in art.

Finnish music has become known quite generally in America, as is witnessed by the programs of the leading musical organizations in our music centers, and the tribute paid Finnish music in best American musical magazines. A few musicans have also visited or given concerts in America, and they have been received with warm praise and admiration. The Harvard University conferred upon Jean Sibelius the honorary degree of Doctor of Music, and Selim Palmgren is at the head of the piano department in the famous Eastman Conservatory, Rochester, N. Y. Madame Maikki Jarnefelt-Palmgren an operatic star, who has spent the last three years in America, and has given concerts in many of our large cities to American audiences, is also engaged as an instructor in the Eastman Conservatory.

Athletic Activities. It is hardly necessary to speak here of the athletic interests of the Finns, this fact being so generally known in America at the present time. The names of such men as Kolehmainen, Nurmi, Ritola, and others, are familiar to all lovers of sport, of which America has a goodly number. Gymnastics of all kinds, including calesthenics, skiing, skating, swimming, running, etc., have been systematically practiced for years in Finland in connection with the activities of various social organizations; and physical training has been found in the curricula of the public schools for a long time. This fact had not been generally known concerning the Finns, but the international Olympic games have helped to acquaint other nations with this sturdy small nation of the far north. Their achievements in the field of sports is not limited to the Olympics that were held in 1920 at Antwerp; they had already made creditable showing in the previous games. But formerly they had to appear under the Russian banner, while in 1920 they were privileged for the first time to take part under their independent colors of white and blue. The United States captured the first place; Finland came second. The results, however, were a surprise generally to the other nations, for Finland was able to send only 24 men, while many other countries had many times that number. The

press of different countries was unanimous in praising the work of the Finnish athletes.

The New York Journal said: "America is the victor of the seventh Olympics, but the largest part of actual victory goes to another country, much smaller than ours. Finland, who had a team of only 24 men, gained fully half as many points as America, although America's team numbered more than ten times this number. In the history of the Olympics such remarkable results have never been seen before as the Finns won in the Olympics of Antwerp."

The New York American wrote at that time: "Finland surprised the whole world. She gained as many victories as America. Myyrä made the world's record in javelin throw, and Kolehmainen in the Marathon run. According to the judgment of experts great credit falls to Finland,who had only 24 men in her team. If she had not lacked a few first class short-distance runners, she would have hopelessly beaten all competing nations."

The New York Evening Telegram, just to quote this final editorial, wrote: "Now when all is over, it is just and fair that America, who won the 1920 Olympic games so easily, do justice to the one to whom justice is due. We won only nine first places, and the Finns, whose team was composed of only 24 men, gained just as many. — In the preceding Olympics, in which Finland gained very notable results,

she was still forced to remain under the Russian flag, so that the victories of this time were not really credited to the account of Finland; but now, when these Northerners have waved their own flag among the nations for a year, they prove that even the regime of oppression of the Czars has not been able to subdue their vigor.[1])

Many other large daily papers both of America and Europe paid tribute to them in similar words of praise. Our purpose here is not to eulogize these accomplishments, but rather to point out in the words of others, a characteristic concerning the Finnish race in order to understand their social activities as immigrants in America.

The Finns have been very much interested in athletics in America. It is quite common to find athletic organizations in connection with their temperance lodges or socialistic societies. And frequently they gather together during the summer months in their annual festivals, where athletic contests and competitions in choir renderings form an important part of the program. Such festivals have been held in Northern Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, people gathering to them from the neighboring states, respectively. They have been very important factors in the work of

1) See "Seitsemännet Olympialaiset Kisat", pp. 250, 251, in Finnish.

Americanization, for the custom has generally been to invite distinguished Americans, viz. governors of these states, members of Congress and state legislatures and other prominent citizens, to take part in the programs as speakers. And it must be said with due respect to these American friends, who have condescended to mix with the Finns in this way, that they have learned to understand better the social mind of this class of our immigrant population. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the great majority of our native born citizens do not wish to take part in any activities that have been arranged by the immigrants, even in cases where some of the best talent of Finland has appeared. Such a spirit savors of aristocracy which has no place in democratic America.

This we consider a problem in the work of Americanization. The immigrant is often expected to show interest in various kinds of programs and meetings that have been arranged admittedly for his enlightenment and Americanization, and much good may be accomplished through them. But when it is done with the spirit of superiority on the part of such organizers, intelligent immigrants, some of whom may be found as leaders in every racial group, are bound to eschew such methods. And a distinction must be made between different immigrant groups. Too often it is the attitude of the would-be reformers

that they possess all the desirable qualities which the immigrant is to learn. The thing to do would be to get acquainted mutually, and then we would be better able to judge what the immigrant needs and in what respect it would be desirable to have him change.

A little incident, serving to illustrate this point, occured in the experience of the writer a few years ago in a certain city in which he happened to reside. A young American pastor came to the city who happened to be very much interested in social work among the immigrants. He had learned that a great number of Finns lived in the city, so he planned to work among them. He thought they needed some social organization to get them together, and that an athletic association would be most desirable. Accordingly, he undertook to organize such an association without knowing that the Finns already had two athletic clubs in that city. Not meeting with success in his plans, he called on a leading Finn of the community and there learned the true facts. He further learned that a good percentage of them were already attending an evening school in the city public school, and were making commendable progress in their work. The conclusion was, that he decided to work among some other nationality who did not happen to be so well organized in that particular community.

This only shows how badly one can be mistaken concerning the needs of immigrants, unless he make a more thorough study of their life and characteristics. They do not always need new organizations, but those that exist could be made more serviceable in the work of Americanization by bringing together, through them, men and women of both sides. Important questions could be discussed and many racial difficulties in the community life could thereby be eliminated. Our social life in many mining and industrial towns is sadly in need of mutual communication and intercourse between different classes of citizenry. This fact should be recognized by every agency aiming to assist in the work of Americanization. Ideal Americanization can not be concerned with the question of naturalization alone, it must have for its aim the making of ideal Americans of all its citizens, native born alike with the citizens through adoption.

CHAPTER X.

NATURALIZATION AND POLITICAL LIFE.

The work of naturalization is a very important side of the Americanization problem. The newcomers are not only to live among us, but to become one of us, i. e. part of our political organization, with certain duties and obligations to the whole and with corresponding rights and privileges accorded to each citizen. In the work of aiding foreigners in their naturalization process, F. C. Butler, author of the Government Bulletin to which we have previously referred, suggests that a great field of usefulness for community committees is open before them among the foreign born who desire naturalization (p. 59). These committees could assist the judges and examiners in many ways; they could establish evening schools for the prospective citizens, training them in political matters pertaining to the organization of our national and political life, and in giving them a right understanding of Americanism. In our knowledge such work has not been done to a very great extent. We have been more concerned with giving technical definitions of Americanism than in

putting our theories into practice. Campaigns for "100 per cent naturalization" have been generally our main method of solving this problem. Of this mode of Americanization work the Bulletin says that "100 per cent naturalization" and similar drives should be discountenanced. It should be perfectly obvious that forced or over-stimulated naturalization can result, as a rule, only in mere lip service and in men who are citizens in name only", (p. 59).

What is the attitude of the Finns towards naturalization? Do they show any special interest in becoming citizens? Our answer is, yes; they are very anxious to become naturalized. It may be said that of those who have been here for a reasonably long period of time one finds very few persons who have not taken out, at least, their first papers, and the majority of them are full-fledged citizens. The writer knows this to be true from his own experience, his father having been naturalized about thirty years ago, thus bringing the privilege of citizenship to all the members of his family. The same is true in general regarding all the Finns.

It is humorous to recall in this connection, that about the year 1909, when Finnish Socialists were becoming rather numerous, an attempt was made by certain political leaders in a section of our country to deny the Finns the right of citizenship on the theory that they belong to the Mongolian race. A

conclusion may be drawn from this, that in the opinion of some, the Finns were becoming naturalized in too great numbers. Concerning this theory of the racial origin of the Finns, as was pointed out in the second chapter, we may say that it does not hold with the leading ethnologists of the present time. This theory was first propounded by Mathias Alexander Castren, the great Finnish ethnologist, who coined the term of "Fenno-Ugric", placing this group of languages in the great Ural-Altaic group. His belief was that the Finns had lived in the remote past on the northern slopes of the Altaic Mountains in Asia. This theory has been accepted without much speculation by later historians. Thus we find that H. G. Wells follows this old hypothesis in his "Outline of History", and places the Finns with the Mongolians. Since Castren's time, however, Finland has been fortunate in having a host of eminent scholars who have gone thoroughly into this subject. As a result of their studies we may state that the early habitation of the Finns can not be shown to have been in the central part of Asia; it must rather be found on either side of the Ural Mountains, or perhaps in the valley of the central part of the Volga River in Russia, where large numbers of Finnish tribes live even at the present time.[1])

1) Uno Holmberg and others; see also Chapter II.

Politically the Finns may be said to belong to the Republican party; though some, of course, choose to vote with the former Prohibition party or with the Democrats. But in recent years a great many of them have become known as strong believers in Socialism, and many have voted and labored with parties having this platform. At the present time about 40% of the population of Finland are Socialists, and it has been estimated that about 25% of the Finns in America belong to the Socialist party.[1]) They have become very well known during the last years, especially during the War; too much so, judged on the basis of their importance as compared to all the Finns.

But here again, as is so often the case, the sensational papers play up the negative activities of foreign groups in a strong light, while they are entirely silent, on the other hand, concerning their positive achievements for the good of our life in general. This has happened an infinite number of times even within the writer's memory. The "Copper Country Strike" was interpreted in this way[2]) The same incident was repeated in Chicago during the investigation of the propaganda of the I. W. W. press in opposition to the War. We may also be permitted to refer to an incident reported in "The Boston Amer-

1) Van Cleef, The Finn in America, p. 28.

2) See Chapter I.

ican", in 1920. This paper came out with a glaring headline on the front page, "150 Finns made to kneel down and kiss the flag". The incident referred to happened at Weirton, W. Va. We admit that there may have been a group of Finnish Socialists in Weirton whose type of Americanism might be suspected by certain other types of Americans. But why cast a reflection on the whole nationality because of the deeds or opinions of a few? Without fear of contradiction we may say that "The Boston American" had never given such prominence to any of the hundreds of worthy deeds and sacrifices made by the better class of Finnish Americans. For example, we have seen nothing of the services of the ten thousand Finnish young men who served our country during the last War, and of the hundreds who made "the supreme sacrifice" for the land of their adoption, or birth, as the case may have been. Neither have we seen any credit given to the labors of the scores of Liberty Loan speakers or campaign managers, nor to the services of the rank and file of large numbers of Finns.

We have given these thoughts prominence here, not because of any ill-feeling, but that they may serve in arriving at a right understanding of the immigrant. The case does not apply to the Finns alone, it is common experience to every immigrant class. "We have been too prone to judge whole groups by

the acts of individuals", says the U. S. Bulletin on Community Americanization. "The newspapers have unconsciously and unintentionally helped to give us distorted pictures of a whole race by closing their stories of crime with such statements as 'the murderer is a Hungarian' or 'the criminal is a Greek'. If they cared to do so, they could not infrequently close with a statement that 'the scoundrel is a native-born American', but this they do not do. Such statements have had a tendency to connect criminality in our minds with our foreign-born people. Obviously, this is a deep injuctice".[1])

The War put to a severe test the Americanization of our immigrant population. "Only those are fit to live", in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "who do not fear to die; and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life. Both life and death are parts of the same Great Adventure. Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the man who put his personal safety first. Never yet was a country worth living in unless its sons and daughters were of that stern stuff which bade them die for it at need." Our foreign born sons marched together with the native born on the fields of battle and thereby proved to the political cynics, who were skeptical concerning the sucess of our democracy, that we did not compose a

1) Bulletin, p. 11

heterogeneous mass but that we must be recognized as an organic and united nation. Thousands of foreign born young men made the supreme sacrifice. Of the Finns some 10,000, according to government estimates, served in the World War. A great many of them were volunteers, while others were drafted. In this connection it must be admitted that a few mis-informed Finnish Socialists refused to register in the draft and were looked upon as slackers. But generally they changed their attitude when confronted with sound arguments. Other Finns took an active part with other Americans, in keeping the home-fires burning, by serving as speakers or war loan workers or in filling important positions in social welfare work among the soldiers. In the North Central States they were organized under the Foreign Language Division, as a *Finnish Department* with headquarters at Chicago, having a director of their own for the 7th Federal District. The Finnish Lutheran Church was also a member of *The National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare.*

For the better understanding of important social duties and the Americanization question, there was organized by Finnish men about this time *The Lincoln Loyalty League* at Duluth, Minnesota, which later moved to Chicago, Illinois, because of its more central location. This organization was instru-

mental in organizing public meetings in several states for the discussion of the principles of Americanization and the importance of naturalization. It created a lively interest in the Americanization question through these meetings and literature.

The objects of the League are expressed more definitely in the following words, quoted from the By-Laws of the said organization. We read: "The objects of the League are to aid, encourage, and instruct Finnish-born residents of the United States to become citizens thereof; to aid, encourage, and instruct citizens of the United States of Finnish birth and their descendants in the discharge of the obligations and in the maintenance of the privileges of American citizenship; to disseminate among all residents of Finnish descent, whether they be citizens or aliens, a knowledge of American principles and ideals and to imbue them with the American spirit, and generally to foster in them a loyalty to and a love for the United States, its government and institutions."

Coming back to the discussion of Socialism among the Finns, we must try to give some explanation for its existence. It would take more time than we have at our leisure to go into this matter thoroughly. Socialism is not found among the Finns alone, it is becoming more and more common in the industrial

life of all civilized nations. We do not attempt to find justification for it, for in our opinion it can not be justified. But there must be causes for it; it has not not fallen down from the clouds, it is earthly and has earthly causes for its existence.

Prof. C. H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan, gave a very clear and fair explanation of the state of confusion and seeming anarchy in our modern society. Our country as well as many others has experienced very rapid changes in the development of means of communication. Modern inventions have made travel comparatively easy; telegraph, telephones, radio, etc. have brought us in very close touch with the whole world; newspapers and books have become the common property of all. These and other factors, which might be named, have brought about a very serious period of transition in our modes of life and thinking. Primary groups have become disorganized to a great extent, resulting in a general state of confusion and contributing to the development of individualism in a marked degree. Everyone must choose for himself at a time when established customs and standards are changing. But this individualism has tended to become selfishness.

That this is true, can readily be seen as a fact in our industrial life. The industries are not organized

on broad democratic bases, the individual often becomes a mere tool without much chance for the development of his personality. The principle prevailing in industry is competition. This in itself is not wrong, but the competition should be regulated "in the interest of justice and service" to all concerned. "Now it is largely a condition of private war regardless of the interests of the individuals and society." It is thus "a merciless exploitation of weaker classes" and "builds up conditions for profiteering". What we need is "team-play" that is motivated by the interests of society at large. These thoughts of Prof. Cooley give us a fair interpretation of the present day industrial conditions, which are found to lie at the root of many of our perplexing social questions.

Harry B. Fosdick gives us a more definite understanding of this ideal in his book, entitled, "The Second Mile".[1]) In this book he relates an incident that took place during the World War. A certain British boat was torpedoed by a submarine, and the sailors were thrown into the ocean. A life-boat came to the rescue, but four men were unable to find room in it. They were left. While the boat was pulling away, these men gathered up their courage and cheered those who were being carried away to safety. That is going "the second mile"; for instead of

1) See Gospel of St. Matthew, V: 41.

finding fault with their condition, or complaining of other contributary causes, they showed the highest spirit of team-play. When capital and labor can cheer for each other's success and wish them "God speed", it is then that industry experiences "higher control".

It must be further stated that Socialism among many Finns can be traced to the political oppression that Finland has suffered at the hands of Russian autocrats. It was immediately after the "February Manifesto" that the emigration from Finland increased so rapidly, as seen from our statistical charts on page 57.

We can offer no better method for combating the spread of Socialism than the one suggested by the Government Bulletin. "There is a negative school of Americanization abroad in the land. It would Americanize America by 'fighting Bolshevism' by word and laws, by more police power, more restriction, more espionage. It is right that our Nation should stand on guard for the principles on which it was founded. But no campaign was ever won merely by the zealous punishing of the minority. The America of the future will be built not by our fear for it, but by the belief of one hundred million citizens in it. Bolshevism is the natural fruit of ignorance and injustice. Let us therefore bend our

efforts to the eradication of these causes, and the effects will disappear of themselves".

But to come back to our main theme. Are the Finns getting anywhere in the political world? It might be said that the political life is no criterion on which to base an estimate of any race. We do not, however, wish to deny the importance of politics in a democratic state, such as we live in. Greater results might be expected of the Finns than they have shown thus far. But it must be remembered that they are comparatively recent comers, and that it is very difficult for the older men to acquire anything like perfect control of English, which is a necessity in political life. This naturally places them in the position of "the rank and file", generally. Of the younger men and women, however, many have risen to important positions in city, county, and state politics. At random we can point out a few offices that have been filled by them, e. g. the cities of Eveleth, Minnesota, Hancock, Michigan, and Fairport, O., have had Finnish mayors; Miss Mayme Kaukonen, who served in the last named position, was the first woman mayor in the United States; the village of Red Jacket (Calumet), Michigan, has also a Finnish supervisor at the present time. Many other city offices have also been filled by them at different

times in different states. The towns of Calumet, and Hancock, in Michigan, as well as Nashwauk, Minnesota, etc., have had Finnish postmasters. The state legislatures of Minnesota and Montana have had Finnish members; and now we can point to a Finnish member in the Congress of the United States, he being elected from St. Louis County, Minnesota.

It may be said of the Finns as is true of many other people, that some of the best and most influential men in other fields, have no political ambitions, politics being looked upon as a political game., in which no honest and upright citizen would wish to be engaged. This however is not right. By the practice of such opinion, politics often falls in the hands of unscrupulous political "bosses" and demagogues. But political bosses must be relegated with their mediaeval theories where they belong, and the public must be educated to appreciate its rights and to discharge its duties in accordance with our democratic principles. Loyalty to the society ought to keep any citizen from denying the State such service as is in his power to perform.

CONCLUSION

The large problem we have endeavored to study in the course of this volume has by no means been exhausted. Our hope is that in one way or another we may have contributed to a clearer understanding of the life of this small, but in many ways interesting, group of our neigbors. The Americanization of the Finns has not yet been completed, many problems still present themselves to us, while others have just been begun to be discovered, but then it is to be remembered that the great problem of Americanization is a living process, and like Americanism itself, is still in the making. America is being made every day, and each racial group may be considered as carrying a little mite, at least, to the altar of true idealism and the spirit of our country. Some may contribute cultural riches the value of which may be inestimable, others, again, mental and physical qualities that are needed in building up a great nation.

We have found the Finn to differ from us in many respects. Some of these differences may be viewed with interest, and may be considered as contributing in a positive way to the welfare of our

country; others may awaken us to a study of the underlying causes of these phenomena, many of which are seen to present themselves in the social life of many modern nations. The past history of the Finns, however, proves to us that they are not strangers to the great ideals that have received recognition in the life of America. They have been under the influence of Western civilization for hundreds of years; they have labored and fought for political and religious freedom for centuries in their native land. And as a result of this Finland is today a Republic with one of the most democratic forms of government found anywhere. She can boast of a fine national system of education and high percentage of literacy. Her people have become hardened to endure difficulties and obstacles to a remarkable degree, and they possess physical strength equal to that of the healthiest races.

The fact of heterogeneity in the composition of America, however, is a problem which must be recognized as needing further attention on the part of statesmen and educators who have the welfare of our nation at heart. It is necessary that all the inhabitants understand our ideals and form of government, as well as the general spirit of our life and institutions. For this reason everyone should learn to communicate in English. The immigrant should be provided with an opportunity of learning English,

the importance of which he should be made to see both for himself individually, as well as for the society at large. This can be best attained through cooperation with the immigrant, rather than through compulsion. Even with the unity of language connecting the people, the fact of heterogeneity is seen to present a problem in a democracy. There should be unity in spirit and purpose as well as in outward form and life of the nation. The great ideal of true democracy is on trial in America, and it might still be repeated, with Lincoln, that "the test is whether any nation so conceived and organized can endure".

But on the other hand, it can not be expected that the immigrant should immediately forget his own language and a feeling for his kin and native land. We do not believe such a thing to be in accordance with natural laws. A person who could forget his native land soon, would be likely to have just as superficial a respect for America. The assimilation of an immigrant into American life may be compared to a mighty river, for example the Amazon, flowing into the Atlantic ocean. The flow of the river can still be detected many miles away from its mouth. So it is with an immigrant who comes to America. He is still influenced to a large extent, even after his life has flown into the great ocean of Americanism, by his heredity and the social

current of his past life. It is only after a considerable length of time, many generations, perhaps, before he has entirely lost all trace of his racial origin, and to expect him not to betray his racial character, in the first or even second generation, does not show good understanding of sociological laws governing the problem of assimilation. "Not that man should be feared", says Prof. E. A. Steiner, "who bears in his bosom an affection for two countries, but he who does not love any country at all".[1])

That the love of America does conquer in the lives of immigrants, we have no reason to believe the opposite. Teutonic or Scandinavian or Finnish blood may flow in their veins, but yet they come gradually to feel themselves completely one with all this country, possesses, that is worth living and dying for. They may utter with Ruth, that Moabitish woman of precious memory, of long ago, "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

And why should it not be so? For "underneath the surface of American life, often rough and careless, there lies this widespread feling: that human nature everywhere is made of the same stuff; that life's joys and sorrows are felt in the same way whether they are hidden under homespun and calico or under silk and broadcloth; that it is every man's duty to do good and not evil to those who live in

1) "On the Trail of the Immigrant".

the world with him".[2]) This idealism is that of true democracy, made possible by Christianity.

"America is a brotherhood. Men of many races have chosen to become members. We who are already initiated through the accident of birth or choice by immigration are now to extend the hand of fellowship to the later comers. Upon the tact, skill, and diligence with which we do our part will depend in no small measure the future of America. But though it is difficult for us yet to picture definitely what we wish to produce, to visualize the composite American of the future, it is necessary that we formulate some idea, set before ourselves some fairly tangible objective, so that our efforts may be effective". And true Americanism may, finally, be said to mean "the lifting up spiritually as well as materially of the members of this commonwealth—the foreign as well as the native element." It is with this purpose that we have tried to present these facts concerning the American Finns.

2) Spirit of America, Van Dyke.

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